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THE ARCHIVES OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By Sylvia Thomas

The Yorkshire Archaeological Society has been in existence since 1863. Originally founded to serve the Huddersfield area only, the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association was begun by a group of gentlemen meeting in the parsonage at Netherthong, near Huddersfield, under the leadership of the Rev. Thomas James, the Rev. George Lloyd, Mr. Henry J. Morehouse and others. They issued an open letter to the public for the purpose of raising local support. It may seem amusing to us today for its tone of enlightened condescension but nevertheless it gives a fair exposition of a serious problem which in some respects is still with us:¹

'The want of an Association for the examination and preservation of the Ancient Monuments and Records which are known to exist in Huddersfield and its neighbourhood has long been felt and deplored by several gentlemen resident in the locality, who take a lively interest in Archaeological researches.

Ancient Charters and Documents of great interest are lying neglected in the archives of private families, and are rapidly going to decay. A large number are in the hands of the working classes; who, from time to time, condemn them as useless lumber and consign them to the flames or the chandler's shop: and there are cases where ignorance and mistrust have caused valuable Documents to be destroyed lest they should become useful to others. The gentlemen above alluded to have ample facilities of knowing these things, from their position and local knowledge.

It is the agreeable task of the Archaeologist to rescue these interesting Documents from destruction. It is his delight to collate the valuable statistics and information these Documents contain, for the benefit of his contemporaries and the information of future generations: and it is the duty of like-minded men to form an association, which shall have for its object the preservation of the Monuments of our forefathers; and by the weight of their local influence to stay the destroying hand of the ruthless Vandal.'

A letter² to the *Huddersfield Chronicle* in 1866 by Fairless Barber, who had just become the association's new honorary secretary, sets out the procedures by which the work of rescue was to be carried out, and some of the activities promised to members. At this stage there was no suggestion that objects of interest or documents should be given to or deposited with the association, but merely that they should be lent temporarily for the purpose of recording or transcription. Members of the association saw their role as that of surveyors of the historic heritage rather than custodians. Their interests embraced archaeology in its widest sense, from prehistory to recent history, from small finds to documents, earthworks and historic buildings.

Fairless Barber's letter continues, 'If, in the result, as I hope will be the case, I am

2. Ibid.

^{1.} Yorkshire Archaeological Society archives 1/1: minute books of the Huddersfield (later Yorkshire) Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1863–1893.

directed to objects of sufficient interest, the Council promise to the members and their friends a well-organised excursion, in which ladies may be willing to join, and by the charm which their presence ever brings enlarge the interest felt in the objects of the Association.'

The role of serious library and record keeper, though not unwelcome, was thrust upon the association by the death of Miss Mary Turner of Hopton, Mirfield on 6 December 1867. Miss Turner, though not herself interested in local history, had inherited from her uncle William Turner a considerable collection of books and manuscripts, mostly relating to Mirfield and Almondbury, and including some manuscripts of the Rev. Joseph Ismay, an eighteenth-century vicar of Mirfield. Miss Turner began giving these to the association, a few at a time, during 1867, but when she died, at the age of only 36, she bequeathed the whole collection³. This forced the association to make serious plans for secure accommodation. A room was therefore acquired in Huddersfield Market Place where the library was housed until 1896.

The predominantly male aspect of the association's membership in its earliest days is emphasised not only by Fairless Barber's gallantries but also by a note in the minutes of the same meeting as the announcement of the Turner bequest, referring to tickets for meetings: 'it was made an instruction to the Committee that 2s. 6d. each should be the price of Tickets, members having the privilege of introducing a Lady.' However, there were lady members from at least 1870, the year in which the association spread its catchment area to include the whole of Yorkshire.

In 1893 the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association simplified its name to Yorkshire Archaeological Society and in 1896 moved its headquarters to Leeds. At this stage an association began with the Thoresby Society which still continues. The two societies rented property in Park Street, Leeds, to serve as headquarters for both. Today Claremont is the home of both societies.

The Y.A.S. at this time officially appointed its first honorary librarian, E. Kitson Clark, although there had been at least one unofficial 'librarian' before. Kitson Clark was succeeded in 1909 by W. T. Lancaster, former librarian of the Thoresby Society. Both these gentlemen were men of scholarship, and the papers of W. T. Lancaster, who was interested particularly in early Yorkshire families and who made many transcripts of important documents in national and other collections, are now in our archives and are much consulted.⁵

In 1908 the archives and library received a further bequest of quite outstanding importance. This was the collection of books and manuscripts of Sir Thomas Brooke of Armitage Bridge, president and one of the founder members of the society. Brooke's collection contained items of national significance, and some of them went to the British Museum. However, the bulk of his treasures came to the Y.A.S., among them manuscripts of the Fairfax family⁶, of Abraham Woodhead the controversial seventeenth-century divine⁷, of Joseph Hunter the historian of South Yorkshire⁸ and of Ralph Thoresby the diarist and historian of Leeds⁹. I shall return to these later.

In the early 1900s the society had stored its documents in tin boxes specially bought for the purpose. In 1910 a fire-proof safe was acquired, but in 1927, after the move of headquarters from Park Street to Park Place, a proper strongroom was constructed which was recognised by the Master of the Rolls as suitable for the deposit of manorial

^{3.} MS 202—205a, MS 389c, MS 446.

^{4.} Y.A.S. archives 1/1.

^{5.} MS 401—420, MS 986, DD 13.

^{6.} MS 37—42.

^{7.} MS 43—59.

^{8.} MS 145—194a, MS 493.

^{9.} MS 1—36.

records. As a result of this recognition more records were deposited, particularly through the British Records Association¹⁰.

By 1968 the society had again outgrown its premises, and so acquired Claremont¹¹. This is a Georgian house with Victorian additions and for most of this century it was a nursing home. The cellars extend under most of the house and were adapted for use as strongrooms, although we still use some of the stone slabs designed for the storage of wines.

The Y.A.S. had appointed its first professional librarian and records clerk ¹² in 1938, but by the early 1970s the society's increasing popularity and wide variety of activities were making the job of librarian, archivist and general organiser too much for one person. The society was not at that time able to employ more than one person in such a role. However, in 1974 the new West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council established a county record office based in its existing West Riding Registry of Deeds at Wakefield, and the society was able to negotiate an agreement whereby the County Council would provide staff to administer the society's archives while the society continued to appoint its own librarian. The County Council now supply an archivist for three days a week, a full-time assistant and regular help with document repair. They have installed mobile shelving in the strongrooms to increase storage capacity and machinery to improve the atmosphere in the storage areas.¹³

I have already mentioned a few of our collections of documents, some of which belong to the society and some of which have been deposited here by their owners. One of the characteristics of the society has been the close personal interest of members and their willingness to donate their own collections both of books and of archives. This was particularly marked in the first quarter of this century, when almost every donor was an official or member of the society: in addition to the massive bequest of Sir Thomas Brooke, which included some 400 books and 280 manuscripts, gifts or bequests were received from J. W. Clay and S. J. Chadwick, vice-presidents, W. T. Lancaster, former honorary librarian and E. W. Crossley, honorary secretary. This trend has continued to the present day, with gifts from John Charlesworth of Horbury, Francis Villy the archaeologist, B. W. J. Kent of Tatefield Hall, Sir Charles Clay, librarian of the House of Lords and former Y. A. S. president, H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, a member of council from 1937 whose collections were given to the society in 1972, Tom Gowland of Ripon and many others.

However, from quite an early period there were moves to encourage gifts and deposits from other potential donors: in 1912 the Earl of Londesborough was approached with a request for old deeds relating to lands he had recently sold. He acceded to the request and continued to give documents to the society for a number of years¹⁴. A few manuscripts have also been purchased by the society.

The activities of the British Records Association in directing documents to the society

^{10.} Y.A.S. archives 1/1—6: minutes of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. For an account of the early history of the Y.A.S. see S. J. Chadwick, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Society: an account of its origin in 1863 and of its progress from that date to 1913', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (YA.J.) 23 (1915) pp.1—91 and J. W. Walker, The History of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Y.A.S. 1948).

^{11.} For a description of the building see B. A. and D. Payne, Claremont, Leeds (Leeds, 1980).

^{12.} William Hebditch. Subsequent holders of the post of librarian and archivist were Mrs. M. J. Hebditch (later Mrs. Stanley Price), Miss A. G. Foster, D. J. H. Michelmore; librarians S. A. Raymond, Mrs. K. A. Johnston, Miss P. J. Campion; archivist-in-charge Mrs. S. Thomas.

^{13.} Since 1 April 1982 the West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council's archive service has been amalgamated with those of the Metropolitan Districts of Bradford, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield and the new West Yorkshire Archive Service has been administered by a joint committee from the county and the districts. Since 1 April 1983 the new service has been joined by Calderdale Metropolitan District archives.

^{14.} MD 58, MD 74—76, MD 78.

have over the years resulted in some very important accessions, usually on deposit, among them the large Payne-Gallwey collection¹⁵ relating mainly to the Frankland family of Thirkleby, and the Archer-Houblon collection¹⁶ containing about 500 medieval deeds which refer mostly to the East Riding. Further large deposits resulted from the efforts of other bodies such as the Institute of Historical Research, which arranged the deposit of the Duke of Leeds' papers¹⁷ in 1930, and the Public Record Office, which in 1932 was instrumental in securing the Clarke-Thornhill collection¹⁸, relating to the Calverley, Blackett and Thornhill families and covering the Fixby area, north of Huddersfield and the Calverley area, west of Leeds.

The society's active policy of publication probably also contributed to the flow of deposits. The *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* began in 1870 and the *Record Series* in 1885, and many of the documents in private hands at the time of publication were later placed in the archives. Important among these were the Pudsay family deeds published in 1916¹⁹, given to the society in 1931²⁰, and the Clarke-Thornhill papers referred to above. Many of these were published in 'Yorkshire Deeds' in the *Record Series* 65 (1923) and the collection was deposited with the society in 1933.

Today the society still receives gifts, bequests and deposits, mainly from members, and a few items bought at auction by West Yorkshire Record Office have been deposited here where this has seemed appropriate.

There are a number of categories into which one may divide the archive collections. Some of the manuscripts acquired by the society at an early date include the papers of important seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquaries, among them Roger Dodsworth, a Yorkshireman whose antiquarian work was of national repute. The bulk of his papers are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but we have here some manuscripts of his consisting of transcripts of original documents which he saw in many different parts of the country, but particularly in St. Mary's Tower and the chapel on Ouse Bridge in York²¹. Also of Dodsworth, though not in his hand, is a fine volume of monuments and arms in West Riding churches²². Our copy was made in the eighteenth century from Dodsworth's seventeenth-century version. It also contains a few attractive drawings of important houses such as Nun Appleton and Hatfield Hall and many drawings of churches.

A number of our antiquaries were involved in genealogical and heraldic studies. The papers of Thomas Beckwith, the eighteenth-century arms painter of York, contain large numbers of pedigrees²³, while the Horsley family, also York herald painters, owned wonderful books of arms, some dating from the sixteenth century and at least two ascribed to William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms²⁴ (Plate 1).

The manuscripts are not all genealogical and topographical. Abraham Woodhead was a fellow of University College, Oxford from 1633 to 1648 and again from 1660 to 1678 and his writings are important to students of seventeenth-century religious thought. They came into the hands of Cuthbert Constable of Burton Constable in the eighteenth century and thence to Sir Thomas Brooke and the Y.A.S.

Ralph Thoresby's papers are also of considerable importance. They consist of most of

^{15.} DD 94 (Deposited by the British Records Association (B.R.A.)).

^{16.} DD 42 (Deposited by the B.R.A. from Major H. L. Archer-Houblon).

^{17.} DD 5 (Deposited by the 10th Duke of Leeds' Will Trust).

^{18.} DD 12 (Deposited by T. B. Clarke-Thornhill Esq.).

^{19.} R. P. Littledale (ed.), 'The Pudsay deeds', Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series (Y.A.S. Record Series), 56 (1916).

^{20.} MD 102—103.

^{21.} MS 282—283.

^{22.} MS 338.

^{23.} MS 60—79.

^{24.} MS 421—433.

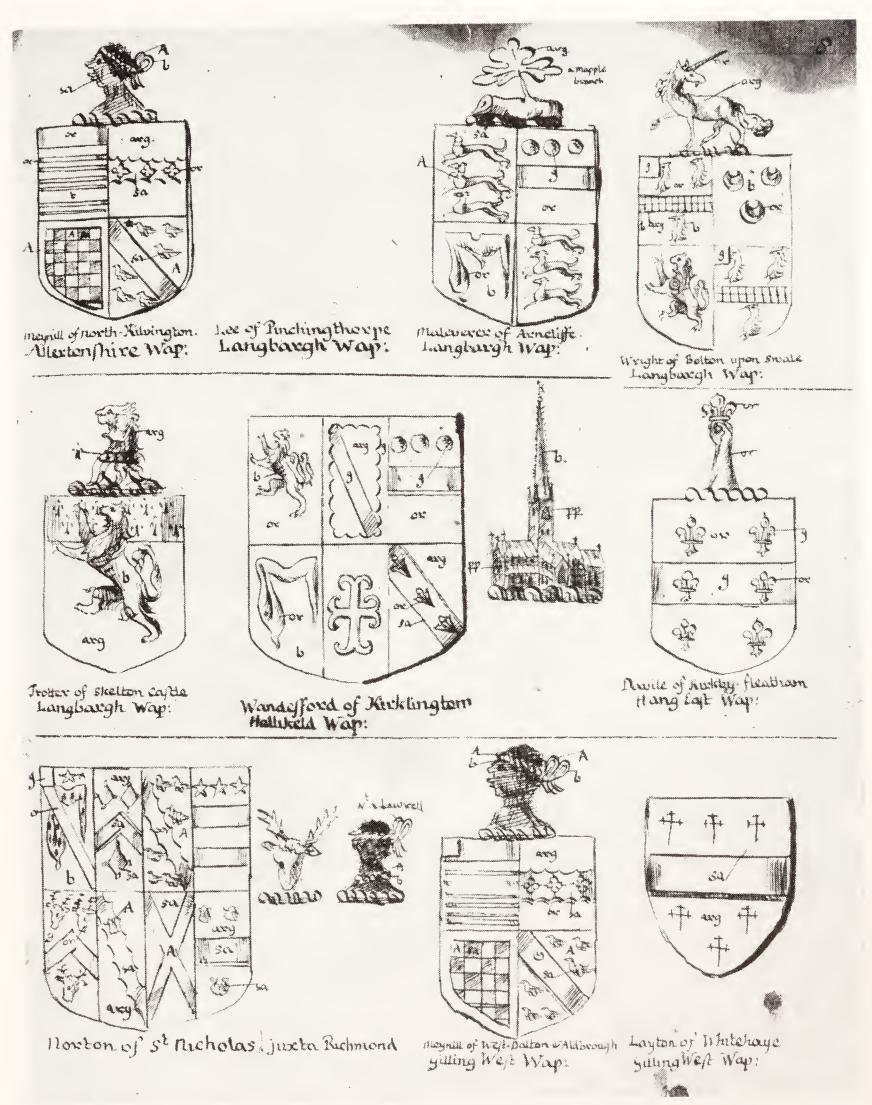


Plate 1 Page from a volume of 'Armes of the Gentry of Yorkshire entred in the Visitation of that County in A° MDCLXV and MDCLXVI, by William Dugdale, Norroy King of Armes'. Illustrated are the arms of Meynill of N. Kilvington, Maleverer of Arncliffe, Wright of Bolton upon Swale, Trotter of Skelton Castle, Wandesford of Kirklington, Davile of Kirkby Fleetham, Norton of St. Nicholas juxta Richmond, Meynill of W. Dalton and Aldborough and Layton of Whitehouse (MS 428).

his diaries from 1677 until the onset of his last illness in 1724²⁵; a large quantity of correspondence, mainly letters addressed to Thoresby from other scholars²⁶ but also a volume in which Thoresby noted the contents of his own letters²⁷; we also have the 'Review' of his whole life which Thoresby wrote between 1710 and 1714²⁸. Thoresby was a lifelong collector of curiosities and kept a museum at his house in Kirkgate, Leeds. He had a fine collection of coins and medals which his father had acquired from Lord Fairfax in 1671, but he also had an insatiable enthusiasm for other objects of more or less value. For example, in his 'album'²⁹, the book in which visitors to the museum wrote their names and mottoes, he also recorded gifts to the museum. Among the donors he notes Mr. Isaac Blackburn of Leeds, apothecary, who gave

'The Back Fins and tail of a Dolphin, An Elks leg, A large Tortois, A Sea Ear ye inside of a Pearl colour, Venus shell with both lips furrow'd, A large spiked Wilk, a Coco nut shel & rind, a large Pear Calabash, an Iron Glove for the Warrs, (G[a]untlet)'.

Joshua Ibbetson, mayor of Leeds in 1684, gave

'the fatall stick yt was the death of Edmd Preston the Leedes Butcher one of the most famous Footmen in England out of whose body 'twas cut the day before he dyed vizt. 30 May 1700'.

Thoresby was a serious-minded man and this is reflected in his diaries, which are full of his meditations on sermons he heard or religious works he read, as well as giving fascinating glimpses of life in Leeds and London at the turn of the eighteenth century.

Thoresby began the diaries as a result of his father's direct advice to him while he was in London in 1677 being educated in the cloth trade. John Thoresby wrote to him as follows, showing a cautious streak of economy, as well as solid fatherly advice:³⁰

'Son Ra[lph],

I writ two or three lynes to my cosen, per Mr. Hassle, and at ye bottom of that shread of paper two ly[nes] to you, and expected 2 or 3 words from you with my cosens letter this last post, but I suppose you had writt by the carryer . . . If you have not yet bought combes you had best walke to Mr. Coxes on Ludgate Hill & buy for me 2 peruke combes one strong the other with flexible slender teeth . . . I have desyred my cosen Dickonson to help you to gett a new suit bought . . . you will also need new hat, stockings and shooes, lett such be bought as may be like to be most serviceable the hat not over broad because the fashion will probably be narrower still . . . there are sometimes good fresh 2nd hand beavers to be had reasonable which would weare better then any new made hat of the like price. Remember what I advised you, to be allways employed in some lawful imployment or other . . . I would have you, in a little booke wch you may either buy or make of 2 or 3 sheets of paper take a litle Journall of any thing remarkable every day, principally as to your self as suppose, Aug. 20 I was at such a place, (or) I omitted such a duty, (or) such a one preached from such a text & my heart was touched (or) I was a negligent hearer, (or) otherwise etc. I have thought this a good method for one to keep a good tolerable decorum in actions, etc. because he is to be accountable to himself as well as to god, wch we are too apt to forgett . . . '

Thoresby's museum was broken up after his death and much of it was lost but some of the manuscripts he owned have found their way into the collections of the Y.A.S. by circuitous routes: an illustrated volume of arms from the sixteenth century is part of the

^{25.} MS 21—25.

^{26.} MS 2—16, MS 20, MS 32, MS 36.

^{27.} MS 1.

^{28.} MS 26.

^{29.} MS 27.

^{30.} MS 26.



Plate 2 Page from the Fountains Abbey lease book showing entries relating to Elland and Scarborough (MS 284).

Bradfer-Lawrence collection³¹; a volume given to Thoresby in 1717 by William Rooke junior, mayor of Leeds, containing copies of charters and documents of the Duchy of Lancaster, the manor of Wakefield and the honour of Pontefract came to the society in 1927 from Captain Montagu of Melton Park, Doncaster³²; and five medieval Kirkstall Abbey deeds given by Mrs. Blanche Tempest in 1904 had been purchased by Thomas Wilson, Leeds schoolmaster and admirer of Thoresby, from Thoresby's collection³³.

Moving on from Thoresby, we have among the manuscripts a fine sixteenth-century lease book of the possessions of Fountains Abbey³⁴ (Plate 2). This has been edited by

^{31.} MD 335.

^{32.} MS 508.

^{33.} MD 50.

^{34.} MS 284. G. R. C. Davis, Medieval cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue (London, 1958), No. 427.



Watercolour of jockeys at Doncaster racecourse by George Walker of Killingbeck (1781-1856), one of a series showing various aspects of Yorkshire life in the early years of the nineteenth century (MS 1000).

Plate 3

David Michelmore, the society's former librarian and archivist, for the Record Series³⁵.

Then we have the work of important archaeologists: W. H. St. John Hope's plans of Fountains, Mount Grace and other religious houses in Yorkshire³⁶; the notebooks of Ella Armitage, a leading authority on earthworks and castles in the early part of this century³⁷; and large numbers of church and other plans and drawings, perhaps the most important of these being the original watercolours for George Walker's *The Costume of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1814)³⁸ (Plate 3).

Another major category of documents in our archives is the estate collection. I have already mentioned the papers of the Franklands of Thirkleby near Thirsk, the Calverleys of Calverley and the Osbornes, Dukes of Leeds. In addition to these we also have papers of the Slingsby family of Scriven near Knaresborough³⁹, the Fawkes family of Farnley Hall near Otley⁴⁰, the Cliffords of Skipton Castle⁴¹, the Listers, Lords Ribblesdale⁴² and a number of others. Families like these naturally generated considerable quantities of papers in connection with the administration of their estates. The most basic are title deeds, the evidence by which they held their lands. We have many examples of these from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries, some bearing fine seals. Then we also find papers connected with running the estate; for example, rentals or surveys giving field names, the names of tenants and the amounts of land held by each. Alongside these will often be maps, our earliest originals dating from the sixteenth century. Estates also provide us with correspondence and with accounts, showing, for instance, profits from farming, timber, mining and other enterprises, wages paid to servants, domestic details such as the cost of food and so on.

A family collection will often contain personal items relating to various members of the family such as letters, diaries, scrapbooks or personal accounts. We have a marvellous recipe book 43 which once belonged to Margaret Savile of Methley, who died at the age of 15 in 1683. The book was added to after her death, and contains some excellent medicinal and culinary advice, some of it very palatable but some not quite to our taste today:

'An Admirable Snaile water

Take a peck of garden snailes, wash them very well in small Beer and then put them in a hott oven till they have done makeing a noise. Then take them out & wipe them well from ye green froth, then bruise them shells and all in a morter. Then take a quart of earthwormes, scour them with salt & slitt them & wash them with water well from their filfth & in a stone morter beate them to pieces. Then lay in ye bottom of your stillpot angelico leaves 2 hanfulls, cellendine 2 handfulls, & upon them put 2 quarts of roasemary flowers, bears foot, Agremony, red dock roots, barke of barberryes, bettony, woodsorrill, of each 2 handfulls, reu one handfull. Then lay your snailes and wormes on your herbes and flowers, then pour on 3 gallons of ye strongest Ale & let it stand all night. In ye morning put in 3 ounces of beaten cloaves, 6 pennyworth of dry beaten saffron, & on ye top of them 6 ounces of shaved harts horn, then sett on ye head of your Lymbeck & cloase it with paiste and so receive it by pints which will be 9 in all, ye first is ye strongest whereof take 2 spoonfulls in 4 spoonfulls of small Beer, & so much in ye afternoon. You must keep a moderate diet and exercise to warme ye blood. This water is good against all obstructions whatever, it cureth a consumption & dropsie, ye stopping of ye stomach & Liver. It may be stilled in milk for weake people and for children with harts tongue and Allecompany'.

^{35.} D. J. H. Michelmore (ed.), 'The Fountains Abbey lease book', Y.A.S. Record Series 140 (1979-1980).

^{36.} MS 395—399.

^{37.} MS 521.

^{38.} MS 1000.

^{39.} DD 56 (Deposited by Major T. W. Slingsby), DD 148—149 (see notes 43, 51).

^{40.} DD 146, DD 161 (Deposited by Major Le G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes), DD 198 (Deposited by Mr. G. N. Le G. Horton-Fawkes). Also DD 193, MS 1193.

^{41.} DD 121 (Deposited originally by Veteripont Ltd., now by Skipton Castle Ltd.).

^{42.} MD 335.

^{43.} DD 148 (Deposited by Major C. B. Innes).

All our estate collections are full of interesting information indispensable to students of the areas to which they relate and of immense value to social and economic historians. Clearly it is not possible in a limited space to give a detailed description of all of them, but I have selected a few of the major collections to give a general idea of what they contain.

Probably the estate collection of the greatest national significance is that of the Duke of Leeds. The Osbornes were originally a Kentish family, but in 1547 Edward Osborne entered the service of William Hewett, a successful London merchant, later to be lord mayor. He married Hewett's daughter and inherited his business and his estates including lands in Harthill near Rotherham. He was highly successful in trade and became Lord Mayor of London himself in 1583. The South Yorkshire estates were extended during the seventeenth century, and the family acquired the Kiveton property which was for a time to become one of their principal seats. Sir Thomas Osborne became M.P. for York in 1665 and was made treasurer for the navy through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham. In 1673 he became Lord High Treasurer of England and was created, among other titles, Baron Osborne of Kiveton. He was Lord President of the Council from 1689 to 1695 and in 1694 was made Duke of Leeds.

Because of these high appointments there remain among the duke's papers a number of interesting volumes acquired in connection with national events, one of the most striking being the volume of the Duke of York's orders for the governing of the navy, with an introductory letter signed by the commissioners of the navy, among them Samuel Pepys⁴⁴. I think that this must be the very volume on which Pepys expended so much nervous energy during April 1669, as he records in his diary:⁴⁵

'18 April. Lords Day. Up, and all the morning till 2 a - clock at my office with Gibson and Tom, about drawing up fair my discourse of the administracion of the Navy. And then Mr. Spong being come to dine with me, I in to dinner and then out to my office again to examine the fair draft; and so borrowing Sir J. Mennes's coach, he going with Commissioner Middleton, I to Whitehall, where we all met and did sign it; and then to my Lord Arlington's, where the King and Duke of York and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord Ashly and Sir T. Clifford, was; and there, by and by being called in, Mr. Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York, bound up in a book with the Duke of York's book of Instructions.'

The 1st Duke of Leeds was the builder of Kiveton Hall, a splendid house for which we have the building agreement and plans, together with the design by Louis Laguerre for the painted ceiling over the staircase ⁴⁶. This house was demolished in 1811, but it was one of the great houses of England in its day. We also have some impressive drawings from 1847 by A. W. Pugin for proposed alterations to Hornby Castle near Bedale, the seat of the later dukes ⁴⁷. The design was never carried out, but the drawings are an important example of Pugin's work and show certain similarities of style with the Houses of Parliament, in the design of which Pugin was involved together with Sir Charles Barry.

The 5th Duke was also a prominent national figure, being appointed, while still Marquess of Carmarthen, lord chamberlain of the queen's household in 1777 and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under William Pitt the younger. From 1788 is preserved his diary which records details of events surrounding the illness of George III:

^{44.} DD5/12/10.

^{45.} R. Latham (ed.), The Illustrated Pepys: extracts from the diary (London, 1978) p.224.

^{46.} DD5/3, 13, 24, 33, 46.

^{47.} DD5/26/27.

^{48.} DD5/12/16b.

Friday 2 Jan 1789 '. . . during the Cabinet the Chancellor received a letter from the Queen, the Contents of which she wished to be communicated to the rest of the K's Ministers, it was to complain of the Disputes between the K's Physicians, and particularly complaining of Dr. Warren, whom Her Majesty declared she would never see again—It was evidently written under the impression of passionate Resentment—The Chancellor wrote word he would wait upon Her Majesty the next Morning at Kew. After the Ch. was gone the Duke of Richmond observ'd that the Ch. was not perfectly agreed with other Ministers respecting the Question of the Restrictions upon the Regent being permanent.

S[at.] 3d. The Chancellor having received late the preceding Evening a Paper sealed from the Prince of Wales, to be communicated to the K's Ministers, and being obliged to go to Kew this Morning, sent it to Ld. Stafford, who opened it and read it to us at the Cabinet, it consisted of three sheets of Quarto Paper & was signed by the Prince of Wales, it contained observations on the Plan laid before H.R.H. in Mr. Pitt's Letter, and, in some Parts, was strongly expressive of Displeasure towards Mr. Pitt; complaining of the Nature as well as some of the probable Motives of the proposed Restrictions, tho' holding out an Intention to accept the Regency rather than leave the Country in it's present state, trusting to the Loyalty and Generosity of the Country to enable him to undertake the Task & to perform it with Comfort to himself & advantage to the Public:- it was, upon the whole, a strange Performance & by no means an able one—now & then there appeared something of Sheridan's Language, and still more of Ld. Loughborough's, tho' very far from being in either of their best Manners.'

The wife of the 7th Duke was sister-in-law of the Marquess Wellesley, and there are preserved a number of letters⁴⁹ from the marquess to his wife. These range from affairs of state to the state of his bowels, but I will quote from one, written after the death of George IV in 1830, and referring to the marquess's brother Arthur, Duke of Wellington:

'My Dearest Wife

I saw Lord Grey (where all is right) & went to the H. of Lords, where Arthur made the most ludicrous speech I ever heard, in praise of His departed Majesty. The material business is to come on to night, & I am just going to London, altho' very unwell, having had a very bad night. I was forced to take medicine this morning & could not call on Mr. Coke, but I hope to do so tomorrow, & I will write to you in the evening . . .'

We shall have another view of the great Duke of Wellington later.

The 'Slingsby papers also contain some documents of national significance, for example copies⁵⁰, probably made by Sir Henry Slingsby (d. 1634), of a letter from James I to the Sultan of Turkey ('Mahemet Chan, Musulmannini Regni Dominatori') in 1604 concerning piracy on the high seas, and of letters patent of 1616 permitting Sir Walter Raleigh to sail with a company for South America to bring back 'such gold, silver, bullion or anie other waires, marchandize or comodities whatsoever as they shall thinke most fitt or convenient'. There is also a fine series of sixteenth and seventeenth-century letters, some of them published, many of which relate to the vicissitudes of the Slingsbys during the civil war⁵¹. However, this collection is equally strong in more local respects, particularly for the area of the honour of Knaresborough.

The Slingsbys rose to prominence in the Knaresborough area in the fifteenth century, purchased the lands of St. Robert's Priory in 1556 and achieved office in the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster, to which the honour of Knaresborough belonged. Various members of the family represented Knaresborough in parliament and they were always deeply involved in local issues. The papers are full of information about Knaresborough itself, its burgages, shops, tolbooth etc. and the honour, including

^{49.} DD5/11.

^{50.} DD56/P.

^{51.} DD 149 (Deposited by Major W. F. Parrington). See D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart* . . . (London, 1836).

Scriven, Scotton, Farnham and Ferrensby, and also about the Slingsby estates in Moor Monkton, Harswell and many other places. There are some late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century accounts for the forest, castle and manor of Knaresborough, including Aldborough and Boroughbridge⁵², some fifteenth-century account rolls of Selby Abbey⁵³ and even a papal bull of 1250⁵⁴.

There is quite a large amount of information about the proposals to enclose the forest in the seventeenth century, proposals which were strongly opposed by Castilion Morris, attorney and town clerk of Leeds. Morris, incidentally, was host at a banquet in July 1680 attended by Ralph Thoresby 55. Thoresby also visited the 1st Duke of Leeds in 1712 while he was in London and reported that the duke himself professed to have taken his name from Leeds, Yorkshire 56. Despite this there have been persistent rumours that he really took it from Leeds in Kent. Not only did Thoresby visit the duke while the latter was alive, he also attended the reading at the Royal Society later the same year of reports of the dissection of his corpse 57. In 1684 Thoresby visited Skipton Castle to transcribe pedigrees of the Clifford family 58. We now have the collection of archives formerly at the castle which relate to the honour of Skipton. The other half of this collection, covering the Clifford estates in Cumberland and Westmorland, are at Kendal in the Cumbria Record Office.

Our collection does not contain any quantity of personal material relating to the famous Lady Anne Clifford, as it consists chiefly of estate papers, but it is a very fine collection, and does include an intriguing sixteenth-century manuscript on alchemy, written in the form of a poem⁵⁹. The latest addition to the collection, a seventeenth-century steward's book for the honour of Skipton, was fortunately rescued quite recently from among papers sent by a solicitor for waste, and offered to the owners of Skipton Castle, who subsequently deposited it here⁶⁰.

A rather different kind of collection is that of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence⁶¹. As I have already mentioned, this collection was given to the society in 1972. Bradfer-Lawrence's papers do not concern his own family, but are a mixture of important documents acquired by him throughout his life. Some of the things he collected were very rare and many have now been deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, but among the Yorkshire items given to the Y.A.S. are the Fountains Abbey stock book, a detailed account, dating from the fifteenth century, of the animals kept on the abbey estates; a large number of medieval deeds including one witnessed by Ailred, the famous twelfth-century abbot of Rievaulx; the fine armorial volume which once belonged to Thoresby and many other interesting documents, but the bulk of the collection consists of the estate papers of the Lister family, Lords Ribblesdale, whose seat was at Gisburn Park.

The Lister correspondence, much of it from the Rev. Thomas Collins, friend and domestic chaplain of the 1st Lord Ribblesdale, covers all kinds of topics, from the purchase of a harpsichord in 1789, to inoculation of children in the 1790s; from Luddite riots in Burnley in 1808 to a memorandum of 'hurricane' damage at Gisburn in 1839.

^{52.} DD 56 Add. (1952)/22.

^{53.} DD 56/R/1.

^{54.} DD 56/R/2 (Innocent IV to the Abbot of Egglestone).

^{55.} MS 21.

^{56.} York Minster Library Add. MS 21.

^{57.} Ibid. See also D. H. Átkinson, Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer; his town and times, 2 vols. (Leeds, 1887) 2, p. 203.

^{58.} J. Hunter (ed.), The Diary of Ralph Thoresby F.R.S. Author of the Topography of Leeds (1677-1724), 2 vols. (London, 1830) 1, p.176.

^{59.} DD 121/109, George Ripley, 'The Compound of Alchemie' 1471 (fragmentary copy).

^{60.} DD 121 Add./8.

^{61.} MD 335. See R. W. Hoyle, 'Archival notes: the Bradfer-Lawrence collection', Y.A.J. 51 (1979).

Lord Ribblesdale's son, Thomas Lister, wrote a series of interesting letters to his father, many reporting his impressions of places and people (he did not admire Scots women because they dressed in finery yet wore no shoes). He gave a very chauvinist account of France, which he visited just before Waterloo, and his impression of the Duke of Wellington was rather more flattering than the Marquess Wellesley's:

'Paris Jany 9th 1815

My Dearest Father,

Every thing is so disgusting to me in this place, that I feel no inclination to write upon what I see, what I hear, or what I think. I have been introduced into some of the best houses in Paris but from my deficiency in the language it is still uncomfortable to be in French society, it is a very serious thing to learn a language. And one ought not to be disheartened because one cannot be perfect in it, in two months. I was the other day presented to Lord Wellington, and in the evening attended a grand ball given by her Ladyship—of course all the beauty and fashion of Paris was there together with Marshals and *literati* of the Kingdom. It was particularly interesting to see our great hero in familiar conversation with those who had ineffectually opposed our arms in the Peninsula. His appearance is as much superiour to theirs as are his abilities, but they are all very ill looking dogs and in very few is there the least appearance of Talent. I think the English women had it hollow in beauty tho there are many who are handsome of the French nation. Lady Wellington is a pretty little woman and very goodnatured . . . '

A further group of documents collected by Bradfer-Lawrence relates to Eshton Hall, Gargrave and Matthew Wilson, who owned it. Wilson's half-sister was Frances Mary Richardson-Currer, herself a famous collector of books. The house at Eshton was remodelled by Francis Webster and Sons, architects, of Kendal, between 1825 and 1841, and Matthew Wilson's detailed accounts of these works exist in the Bradfer-Lawrence collection. In 1978 we were fortunate to receive from Hugh T. Fattorini the Websters' plans for these alterations, together with the catalogue of Miss Currer's library, privately printed in 1833 and inscribed by her⁶². She was a remarkable and scholarly woman, and her collection of books was sufficiently noteworthy to be described in T. F. Dibdin's Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour of the Northern Counties of England and Scotland, 2 vols. (London, 1838)⁶³.

I have already referred to several of our estate collections, but there are still others equally deserving of mention: the papers of Lord Allendale from Bretton Hall⁶⁴, or the Dent collection relating to the Goodricke family of Ribston Hall, which belonged at one time to the Knights Templars⁶⁵. These contain such treasures as a charter of King John dating from 1199 which was probably that seen by Ralph Thoresby when he visited Ribston⁶⁶, and the Wetherby market charter dating from 1240⁶⁷, as well as a beautifully written extent of the manor of Whixley contained in the rare fifteenth-century Whixley cartulary⁶⁸. Then we have a collection of papers of the Armitage family of Farnley near Leeds which includes some unusual sixteenth-century accounts for Farnley smithies⁶⁹; the variety is enormous, but I have space to touch only briefly on these things.

Most of the estate archives that I have been describing contain a few manorial court rolls. This is quite usual, since landed families were often lords of various manors. Court rolls, which record the proceedings of the manor courts, usually survive in twos and

^{62.} MD 387.

^{63. 2,} pp. 1081—1090.

^{64.} DD 70 (Deposited by Viscount Allendale).

^{65.} DD 59 (Deposited by G. Dent Esq.).

^{66.} See MS 24.

^{67.} R. V. Taylor 'Ribston and the Knights Templars', Y.A.J. 8 (1884), pp.259—299. The Wetherby market charter is here dated 1230, but this must be an error.

^{68.} G. R. C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue (London, 1958), No. 1337.

^{69.} MD 279/B/8/2.



Plate 4 Map of the manor of Liversedge, undated (late seventeenth or early eighteenth century). This map is part of the Wakefield manorial records. Although Liversedge was not part of the manor of Wakefield it shared a common boundary with Hartshead, which was (MD 225/8/22).

Photos

W. Yorks. Metro. County Council.

threes, or at most in a few boxes. However, one of the society's prize possessions, and a source of immense interest to Yorkshire historians, is the magnificent series of rolls for the manor of Wakefield, given to the society in 1943 by the Earl of Yarborough, lord of the manor⁷⁰. The manor covered not only just the Wakefield area, but also a large part of the West Riding, including Halifax, Heptonstall, Normanton, Holmfirth and much of the area in between. The annual rolls begin in 1274 and continue with relatively few breaks to 1925, when manorial jurisdiction came to an end.

The rolls are filled with fascinating detail. The manor court was in effect the local administrative body at least until the rise of the quarter sessions to importance in the sixteenth century. The early rolls contain a mixture of criminal cases (people accused of stealing, causing an affray, even murder), cases of infringement of by-laws (allowing pigs to go unringed, failing to scour ditches, obstructing the highway) and property transactions. All land within the manor was held by the inhabitants as tenants of the lord of the manor, and the vast majority were unfree tenants. At a later stage they were termed 'copyholders', because the fact of their tenancy was recorded in the court roll and their evidence was a copy of the relevant entry.

Clearly, the rolls are a mine of information for social, economic and family historians and the society early decided that they were worthy of publication. The very earliest rolls, with some gaps, were published by the *Record Series* many years ago⁷¹. More recently a new section of the society has been set up to publish more, and the first volume of the new *Wakefield Court Rolls Series*, covering the roll for 1639-1640, appeared in 1977⁷². It might be interesting to publish a roll from the later eighteenth century to show the effects of the beginning of the industrial revolution. These would almost certainly be noticeable in the pattern of land transactions, which even in the seventeenth century had come to dominate the business of the court.

There are indexes (called 'dockets') from 1559 onwards which give the names of parties and the nature of the business mentioned in the rolls, although they are not in alphabetical order before 1799. The rolls are in Latin up to 1733, except for a brief period during the Commonwealth. Unfortunately, although the condition of the earlier rolls, which are written on parchment, is on the whole fairly good, many of the eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth-century paper rolls, which must at some time have been stored in a damp place, are very fragile and cannot be used. They are not, of course, beyond repair, but each roll is a very considerable task for a skilled repairer.

Alongside the rolls there a number of associated records, particularly maps of various kinds (Plate 4) and awards for the enclosure of parts of the manor. Because the manor of Wakefield was so large it also had room within it for a number of subsidiary manors, and we have records relating to some of these, notably Dewsbury rectory manor⁷³ and the manor of Shelley⁷⁴.

Many of the users of our archives are interested in genealogy, and of particular importance to them is the large collection of unpublished transcripts of Yorkshire parish registers collected over the years by the Parish Register Section of the society. A small charge is made by the section to non-members for the use of these, the proceeds being put

^{70.} MD 225. For a general description of the records see D. J. H. Michelmore and M. K. E. Edwards 'The records of the manor of Wakefield', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5, No. 4 (Oct. 1975), pp.245—250.

^{71.} Y. A. S. Record Series 29 (1900), 36 (1906), 57 (1917), 78 (1930), 109 (1944).

^{72.} C. M. Fraser and K. Emsley, 'The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield from October 1639 to September 1640', Y.A.S. Wakefield Court Rolls Series 1 (1977), H. M. Jewell, 'The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield from September 1348 to September 1350', Y.A.S. Wakefield Court Rolls Series 2 (1981), S. S. Wakefield Court Rolls of the manor of Wakefield from October 1331 to September 1333', Y.A.S. Wakefield Court Rolls Series 3 (1982).

^{73.} DD 167 (Deposited by A. Chadwick Esq.), MS 390, MD 63, MD 393.

^{74.} DD 181 (Deposited by Commander J. B. R. Horne).

towards publication of more registers. Also of interest to genealogists is the Family History and Population Studies Section's useful collection of recordings of monumental inscriptions.

The society's archives, as I hope I have shown, are very fine, and scholars come from all over the world to see them. All are welcome to use the archives, although they may only be consulted on the premises. In order that students can discover what each collection contains various lists and indexes are available in the archives reading room. The society first published a catalogue to its manuscript collections in 1912⁷⁵. A second edition, edited by E. W. Crossley, was produced in 1931⁷⁶ and this, with supplements up to 1956, is still in use. It contains brief entries describing the manuscripts and deeds owned by the society, but does not include any real description of the deposited collections. This published catalogue is still, for many of our collections, the only finding aid, but for collections acquired after 1956 and for most of the deposited collections we have typescript lists, some more detailed than others.

We hope to produce a further volume of the published catalogue, to bring the information up to date and to include the deposited collections. The groundwork for this volume has already been carried out by two graduates employed by West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council on a Manpower Services Commission scheme.

In addition to producing lists of collections we also make indexes to the lists, and these, together with a separate index of maps, are avilable for consultation by readers. Finally we have also, in consultation with the librarian, tried to group in the archives room as many as possible of the books which archive users might require. However, the Y.A.S. library as a whole is undoubtedly one of the most useful that an enthusiast for the written records of Yorkshire's past could hope to find.

Note: This article is based on a lecture given to the Society on 4 November 1981. I am grateful to the Society for allowing me to publish photographs of original documents in its archives.

^{75.} W. T. Lancaster (comp.), Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1912 (Leeds, 1912).

^{76.} E. W. Crossley (comp.), Catalogue of Manuscripts and Deeds in the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, at 10 Park Place, Leeds (Leeds, 1931). For a summary of the collections in the Y.A.S. archives see also Borthwick Institute, A Brief Guide to Yorkshire Record Offices (York, 1968).

EARLY NEOLITHIC UTILISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF ALDER CARR AT SKIPSEA WITTHOW MERE, HOLDERNESS

By D. D. GILBERTSON

INTRODUCTION

There is a comparative abundance of evidence for Bronze Age and Iron Age human activity around the lakes and wetlands of Holderness and Humberside (e.g. Smith, 1911; Wright and Churchill, 1965). Worked or carved wooden remains have been recorded at fourteen of these local sites in the recent account of prehistoric woodworking by Coles, Heal and Orme (1978). The utilisation of wood during the Mesolithic is also well known from the Starr Carr site in north Yorkshire. However, there is a general scarcity of information on wetland occupation, woodworking or woodland management in Holderness during the Neolithic. In both the Somerset Levels Papers and their summary paper, Coles *et al* (1978) have demonstrated from the growth form of excavated timbers that coppicing was being practiced in the Somerset Levels during this period.

This paper records evidence suggesting both the utilisation of Alder Carr woodland and the management of this woodland by coppicing techniques, on the margins of Skipsea Witthow Mere, Holderness (Figure 1), during the early Neolithic.

LACUSTRINE DEPOSITS AT SKIPSEA WITTHOW MERE

Lacustrine silts and peats deposited at the western margins of the former Skipsea Witthow Mere are currently exposed over a distance of 80m. in rapidly eroding cliffs at the Witthow gap (TA 185545) on the Holderness coast (Figures 1 and 2). Land between 3 and 10m. higher occurs on either side of the mere deposits and within 5 - 10m. of them in the centre of the exposure. The stratigraphy of the site indicates the Skipsea Witthow Mere, even at its largest and deepest in the Late Devensian, never reached more than 2 - 3m. above the present land surface level in the vicinity of the gully (Figure 2; Gilbertson, unpublished information).

The stratigraphic relationships of the mere deposits are summarised in figure 2. The lowest 'non-glacial deposits' are the lacustrine silts, sands and gravels of Units 2a and 2b, which unpublished work, indicates are of Lake Devensian age. These are overlain by organic lake muds – Unit 3 – the base of which yielded a radiocarbon date of 9880 ± 60 radiocarbon years b.p. (SRR 1944). Unit 4 is characterised by the introduction of drifted brushwood and timbers into these lacustrine organic muds. These units yielded the Mesolithic flint implements for which Skipsea Witthow Mere is best known (Armstrong, 1923; Godwin and Godwin, 1933; Gilbertson, unpublished).

Of more immediate archaeological interest are the lake margin deposits of Unit 5. These may be either *in-situ* or reworked marsh and carr peats. They are strongly laminated, with quasi-horizontal bedding planes, often with sandy parting planes. Horizontally bedded timbers up to 0.5m. in diameter are densely packed with an abundance of brushwood and hazel nuts. Alder wood is very common, with ash and oak well represented. These sedimentary characteristics indicate the depositional environment comprised a lake-margin swamp with Alder-carr woodland growing on the peaty carr soils. This was subject to extensive reworking by surface run-off introducing sand from cleared land behind the site. Lake waves may also have contributed to the reworking. A radiocarbon date of 4500 ± 50 radiocarbon years b.p.

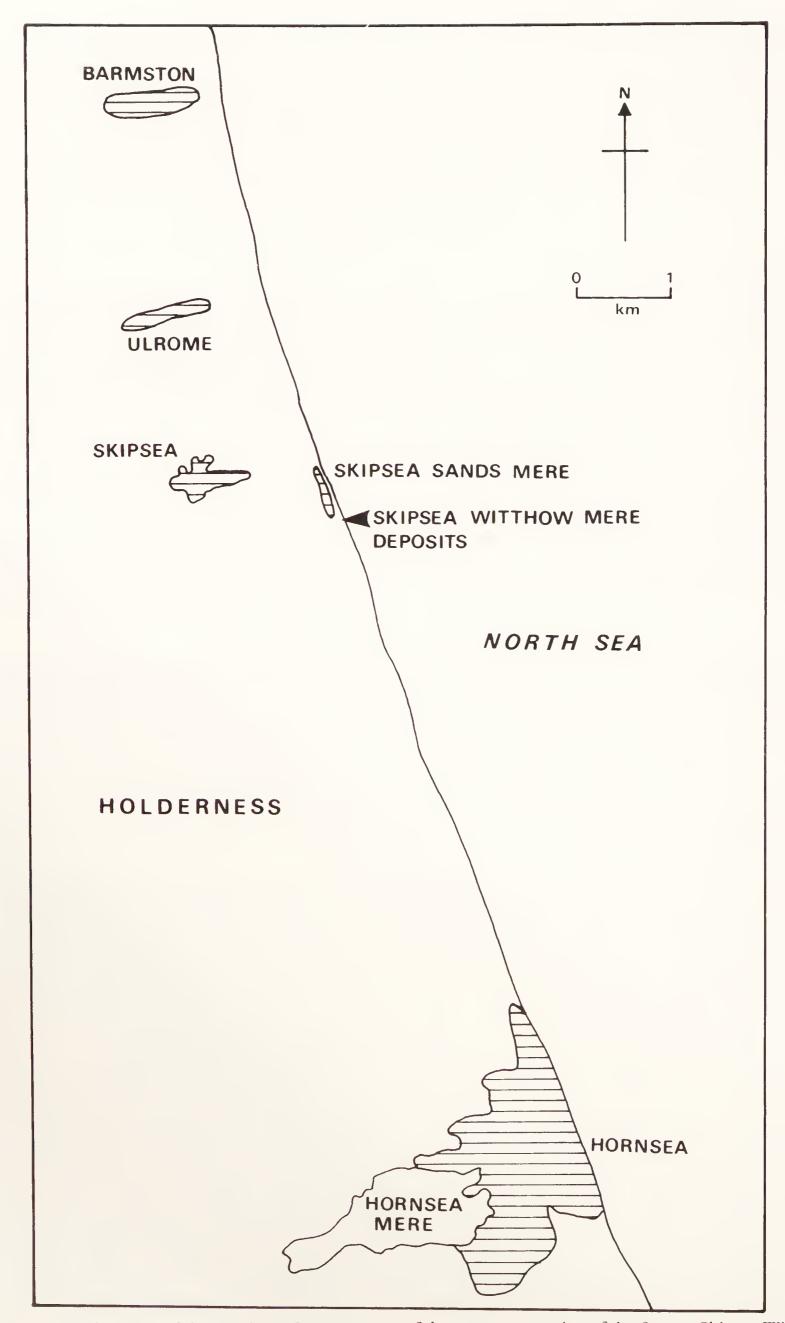


Figure 1 The location of the Witthow Gap exposure of the western margins of the former Skipsea Witthow Mere.

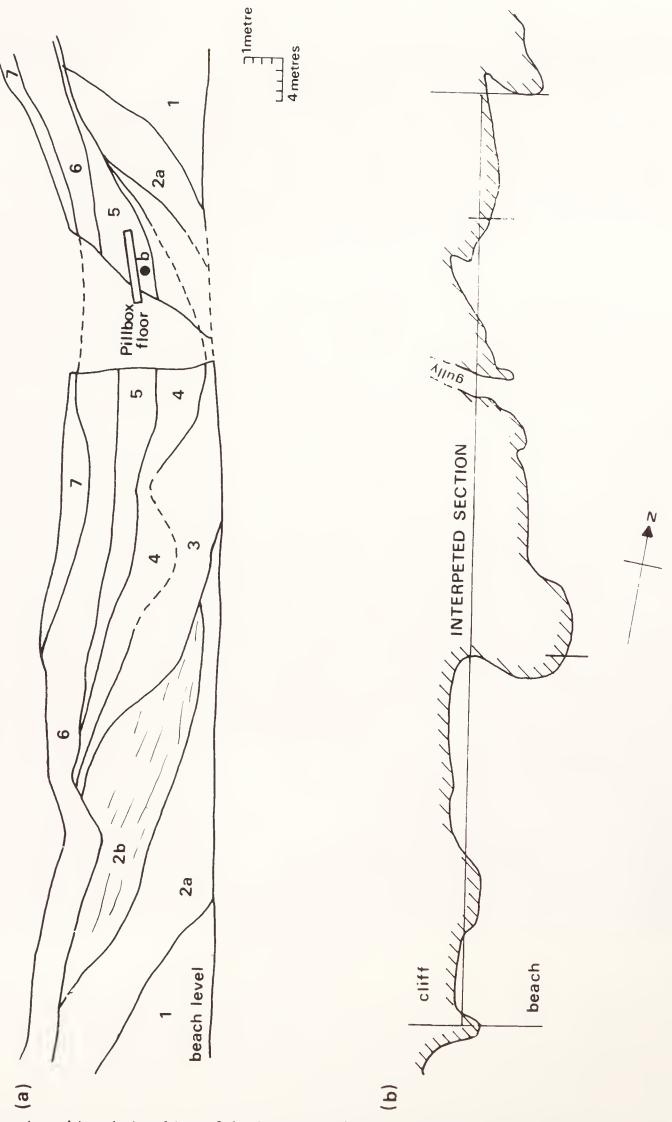


Figure 2 Stratigraphic relationships of the lacustrine deposits at the western margin of the former Skipsea Witthow Mere.

KEY: Unit 7 - made ground; Unit 6 - clay silts and sands, colluvium; Unit 5 - Detrital and in-situ marsh and carr peats, strongly laminated, with many densely packed, fallen timbers, mainly Alder, some Oak and Ash. In-situ and reworked early Neolithic rods and pegs were found at the location marked by the circle beneath the fallen pillbox; Unit 4 - organic silts with horizontally bedded trunks and branches; Unit 3 - organic silts with occasional horizontally bedded trunks and branches; Unit 2b - interbedded lake silts and pebble and gravel layers; Unit 2a - laminated, calcareous, laminated lake silts; Unit 1 - Till.

(SRR 1942) was obtained for a 5 cm. slice of peat at the top of this deposit. Here it is overlain by the colluvial silts of Unit 6. In the collapsing and eroding peats immediately below the collapsing pill box floor (Figure 2) worked timbers were discovered in 1978 and 1981.

EARLY NEOLITHIC ROD

The worked rod shown in Plate 1 was found interbedded with horizontally bedded, detrital peats and brushwood 0.4m. below the centre of the collapsing pill box base (located by the dot on figure 2). Consequently it must either have been discarded or reworked.



Plate 1 Carved rod of Alder (Alnus) from Unit 5. The stake yielded a radiocarbon date of 4770 \pm 70 years b.p. (HAR 3378).

The wood is Alder (*Alnus* sp.), and the rod was taken from a stem 40 years old (Hillam, pers. comm.). Its upper end was an apparently natural, rectangular fracture, which might have occurred before or after final burial. The other end had been carved to a crudely rounded point with a series of rough facets produced by an axe or knife. There is minimal abrasion of the sharper facet edges suggesting very limited re-working or exposure before final burial. There are many parallels for this rod in the Somerset Levels trackways (Somerset Levels Papers, 1975 - 1980). Probably the most likely use of this timber was as a stake or pile driven into the water-logged peat-soil of the alder carr woodland, and intended to support another structure such as a platform or trackway, etc.

This worked rod was dated by radiocarbon assay to 4770 ± 70 radiocarbon years b.p. (HAR 3378). There are no reasons to doubt the reliability of this date The wood did not



Plate 2 Wooden rod of Alder (Alnus) from Unit 5; showing the "elbow" form obtained by breaking and/or cutting the stem from the side of a coppiced stool, as described in Coles et al, (1978).

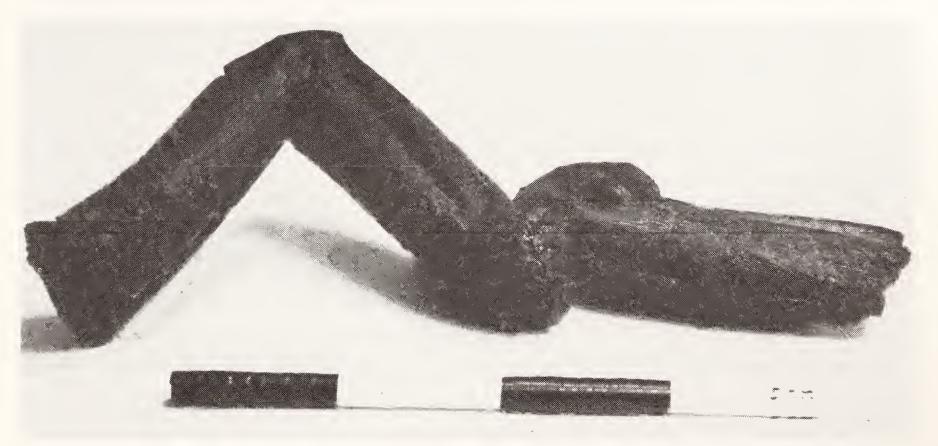


Plate 3 Zig-zag peg probably caused by hammering "green" wood through a peat surface and encountering firm timber in the sub-soil.

appear to be contaminated. The age difference between the timber, and the peat dated at the top of Unit 5, suggests a plausible sedimentation rate of 0.5 to 1.5m. of detrital peats and timbers in a period of approximately three hundred years.

The interest of this Neolithic rod lies in its great age, placed by the radiocarbon date firmly in the early Neolithic, and amongst the earliest Neolithic trackways or platforms so far found in the British Isles (see Coles, *et al*, 1978). For example the Skipsea radiocarbon date lies well within the range of the radiocarbon dates for the very old Sweet Track in the Somerset Levels given by Morgan (1979) and Coles (1979).

IN-SITU ROD AND PEG

A further rod and peg were found 5m. north of the first at exactly the same stratigraphic horizon within the carr-peat. However, these were noted *in-situ*; still

pushed vertically into the peat, their upper parts exposed by erosion and slumping. The rod illustrated in Plate 2, is also made from Alder (Alnus), again about 40 years of age (Hillam, pers. comm.). Its lower end forms an 'elbow'; this form is obtained by breaking and/or cutting the stem from the side of a basal coppiced stool (Coles, Heal and Orme, 1978) in a process described by these authors. The fractured elbow has been further trimmed by axe or knife to leave facets, before the elbow was inserted into the peat soil; its expanded, hooked end providing good anchorage in this difficult sub-strate.

The zig-zag peg (Plate 3) found 1m. further north from the second rod, is of Hazel (Corylus). The tip was not found. The bending and buckling is not a natural growth shape of wood, either above or below ground. It was probably caused by continued hammering when the peg met buried Alder wood at depth. Again the feature is similar to finds in the Somerset Levels trackways, from which Coles et al (1978) show how a zig-zag peg timber was used to stake planks to a peat surface. These authors also point out the peg must have been used 'green'; seasoned wood would have fractured and split, rather than bent and buckled in this manner.

These latter timbers have not been dated. There is, however, no reason to suspect they are significantly different in age to the dated rod, although they may slightly pre-date or post-date it. They are all overlain by the same further series of laminated detrital and carrpeats. Consequently the dated rod, and adjacent rod and peg, indicate early Neolithic exploitation of the margins of Skipsea Witthow Mere and utilisation of the alder carr timber. By analogy with evidence from Somerset the timbers also strongly suggest active woodland management by coppicing.

CONCLUSIONS

Carved wooden rods and stakes of Early Neolithic age have been found in detrital carrpeats exposed at Skipsea Witthow Mere. One dates to $4,770 \pm 70$ years b.p. (HAR 3378). They were presumably associated with wooden trackways or platforms, the rods and pegs being found as driven into the peat surface of Alder Carr. The structure, working and age of these timbers suggest deliberate woodland exploitation and management by coppicing at approximately the same time as the similar, but better known, early Neolithic activity in the wetlands of the Somerset Levels.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author is indebted to the NERC Radiocarbon Panel for providing two of the radiocarbon dates discussed here.

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A NEW SURVEY OF THE WINDYPITS IN DUNCOMBE PARK, HELMSLEY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By S. J. PIERPOINT

Windypits are vertical fissures in the calcareous sandstone bedrock (Corallian of the Upper Jurassic) of the Hambleton Hills caused by complex land slipping movements (Cooper 1980). They have been the subject of an abiding interest in Yorkshire archaeology since the archaeological investigations there in the 1950s and 1960s. However, since the early 1960s, Buckland's, Antofts and Slip Gill (preferred here to the corrupt form 'Snip Gill') Windypits have been closed to all visitors. Although there has been no change in the policy of access, special permission to visit the windypits was granted by the Duncombe Park Estate Office, Helmsley, through the good offices of the Nature Conservancy Council. This work was undertaken in 1981 in connection with the Council's Geological Conservation Review. It was deemed necessary to obtain surveys of the windypits to establish which, if any, should be designated as 'key sites' worthy of conservation. There had been many calls for further archaeological attention to be paid to the windypits, particularly by McDonnell (1963) and by the now defunct Yorkshire-Humberside Area Archaeological Committee, which in one policy statement called for more contact between archaeologists and cave explorers. It was in the light of this that the author was invited to join the team of cave explorers for the 1981 visit by Roger Cooper and Peter Ryder.

The main aim of this visit, to produce accurate surveys, was successfully carried out and they have now been fully published (Cooper et al 1982). These will be of great value to archaeologists in considerably extending and clarifying our knowledge of the

windypits.

Archaeologically the windypits are important in that they were utilised in the Early Bronze Age for shelter and the deposition of burials. Four have produced beaker sherds and associated artefacts (Buckland's, Antofts, Slip Gill and Ashberry I (Ryder 1973)), implying their use in the earliest part of the second millennium b.c., as is confirmed by the radiocarbon date of 1800±150 b.c. (BM62) from Antofts, dating occupation and burials. The beakers themselves form an interesting group including : all-over-cord, rusticated and 2 handled forms (Hayes 1963, fig. 4 no. 5). Dating sequences suggested by Clarke (1970) and Lanting and van der Waals (1972) might suggest a long time range for the deposition of these burials (c 2000—1550 b.c.). The present author differs rather from this view. These two dating sequences are best suited to the high quality 'fine' beakers normally recovered from barrow contexts in Britain as I have made clear elsewhere (Pierpoint 1980, 45—62). I have suggested that beakers in Yorkshire were the products of specialist potters in the main and these 'fine' vessels were frequently traded and often deposited with well-to-do men at burial. However, all beakers are not alike and many are of a much lower quality, perhaps not made by specialist potters. These smaller and cruder pots may have been the more normal 'domestic' wares, but they were also used at funerals, normally being placed with women and children. It is significant that this group of cruder vessels would include all-over-cord and rusticated types; in fact all the vessels from the windypits. It is perhaps not surprising that these normally simply decorated

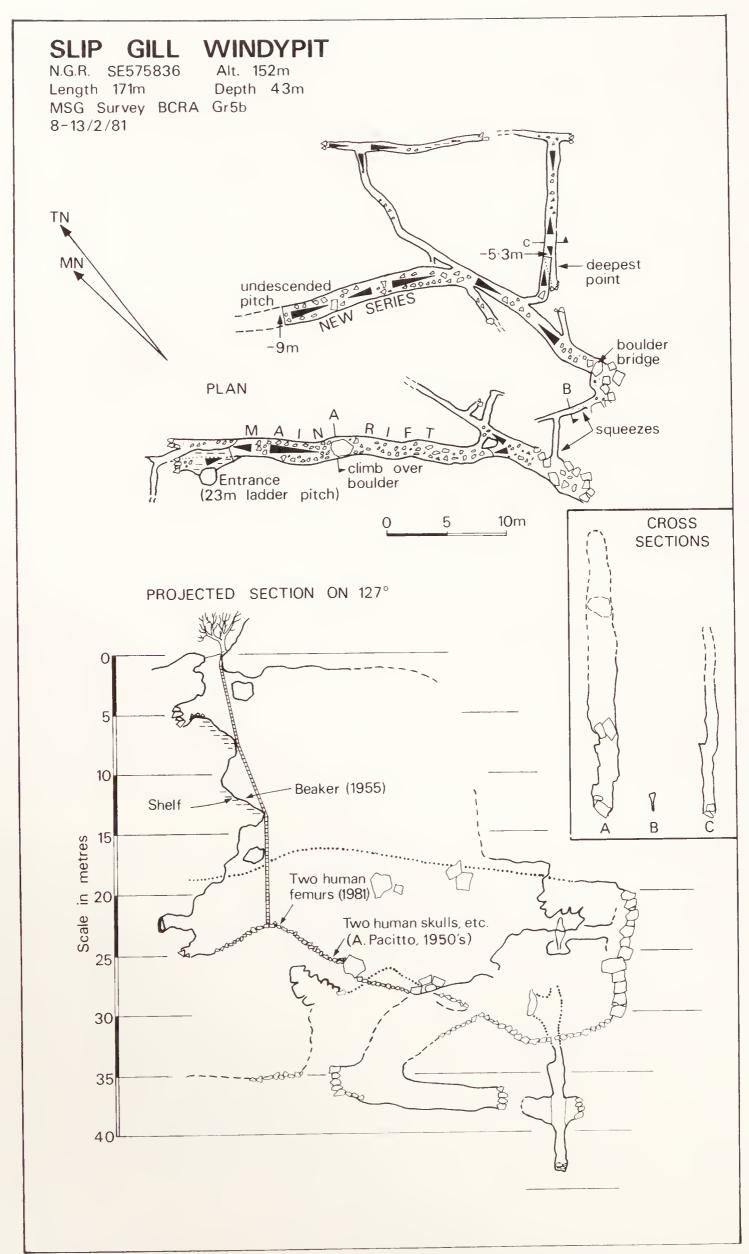


Fig. 1 Location of archaeological finds in Slip Gill Windypit (based on the new survey: from a figure in Cooper et al 1982, by kind permission of the British Cave Research Association).

vessels show less change through time than the 'fine' beakers, precipitated by the latter's role as status symbols (Shennan 1977). In fact, dating the cruder vessels is problematic (although the handled form from Slip Gill may be late in the sequence ϵ . 17th or 16th century b.c.) and it is not a simple matter to attach a close date to any of the windypits material.

The poor quality of the windypits beakers is symptomatic of the quality of bronze age pottery north of the Derwent. Whereas the Yorkshire Wolds has a glut of extremely high quality beakers, Food Vessels and Collared Urns, further north such quality is scarce. It seems clear that many of the 'fine' vessels were being produced by skilled craftsmen in the Garton Slack and other areas (Pierpoint 1980, 119-120). On the other hand there seems to have been a lack of such able artisans outside the wolds (Pierpoint 1980, fig. 10.9). Thus it is true that the windypits vessel are typical of the north Yorkshire region in terms of quality, but unusual in that beakers are so scarce in this area.

The recent visit to the windypits in fact produced little in the way of further evidence of bronze age occupation. Although new fissures and windypits have been discovered recently (Cooper et al 1982), none of these have produced new bronze age artefactual material. On the other hand large quantities of bone were found lying on the floor of rifts in all three windypits investigated and some of it is clearly prehistoric in origin. Small groups of bones were collected from fissure S at Buckland's Windypit and from the base of the main pitch at Slip Gill (Fig. 1). These have been identified by Dr. Chesterman and Susan Stalibrass (both of Sheffield University). The 28 bones from Buckland's include: pig, sheep, dog, deer and cattle in positions where they cannot have tumbled in. Clearly some live animals have fallen into Slip Gill in recent times, evidenced by sheep and deer bones below the entry. According to Hayes (1963), work in the 1950s involved digging out the area at the base of the pitch. This produced numerous animal bones which were pronounced 'modern'. However, the 1981 collection included two heavily weathered left human femurs. In the 1950s Anthony Pacitto found 'two small fragments of dark, gritty pottery and a sherd of hard, black-fumed wear in a mass of stones blocked by a large boulder 118ft. down the windypit' (Hayes 1963a, 18) together with fragments of two human skulls and other bones. In 1953 a handled beaker was found 10m. above the base of the pitch (Fig. 1). According to Hayes (R. Cooper pers. comm.) the reference to finds 118 ft. down is an error and the human bones found by Pacitto were also located near the base of the pitch (c. 85 ft. down). It seems very possible that the beaker (1953) and human bones (1950s and 1981) all belong to a single burial deposit originally placed on the shelf half way down the pitch. The human bones tumbled down the pitch, perhaps by the action of later explorers of the windypits, or natural rock falls and erosion.

The archaeological side of the work at the windypits is rather negative despite the discovery of new fissures. Nevertheless, the windypits still have some considerable archaeological potential and it is to be hoped that the good cooperation between archaeologists and cave explorers will continue in this area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Roger Cooper and Peter Ryder for their invitation to work on the 1981 survey, and to Roger Cooper for aid in preparing this note.

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ROAD REMAINS AT BURBAGE AND HOUNDKIRK MOORS, SHEFFIELD—A POSSIBLE ROMAN ROAD

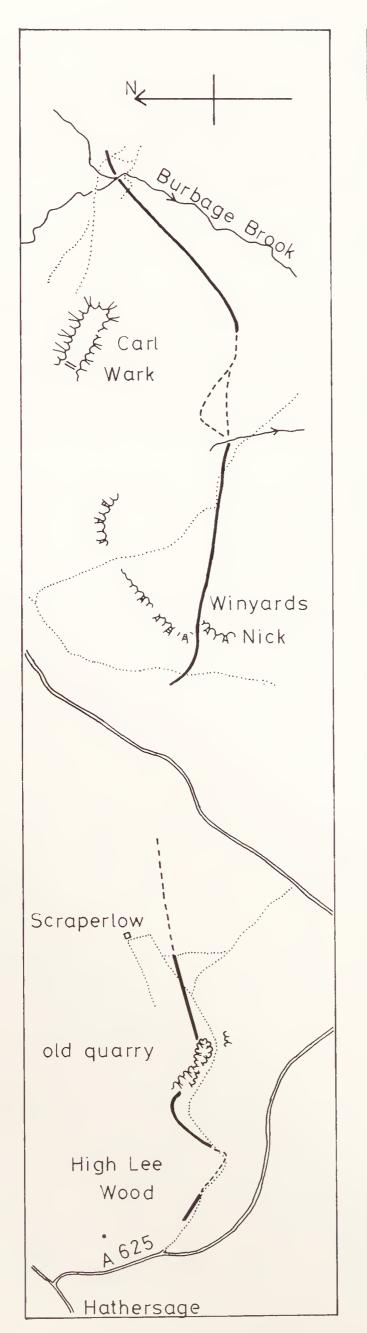
By THOMAS C. WELSH

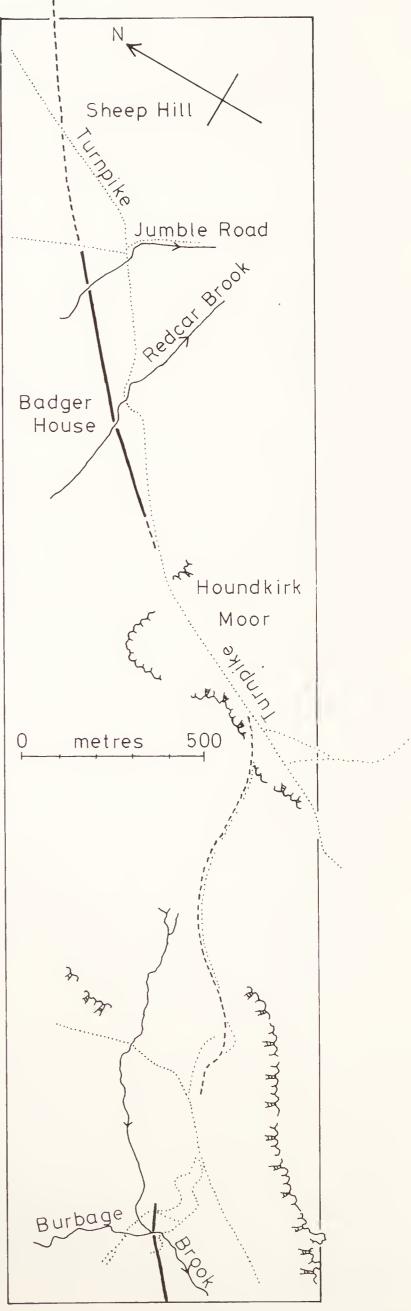
Remains of a kerbed and cambered road, crossing the moors between Hathersage, Derbyshire and Ringinglow, Sheffield, were reported in Y.A.J. 50, p. 11 and 51, p. 6. The continuity of the remains was challenged in Y.A.J. 52, p.187 on the grounds that they could be explained as part of two independent routeways, one a turnpike dating from 1757, the other a bridleway. To ensure that the original interpretation was correct, documentary research and further fieldwork were carried out, and a fuller account of the road is now submitted.

The remains are closely associated with routeways of various periods, but cross from one to another as a consistent feature. It ascends the gritstone edges from Hathersage by a minor bridleway giving access to routes to Sheffield and Chesterfield, and crosses Hathersage Moor on the latter axis. South of Carl Wark (SK 259814) it changes direction, following an independent descent to Burbage Brook, where it joins the bridleway, mentioned in *Y.A.J.* 52, to climb Burbage Edge, and cross the high ground beyond. It then follows the approximate line of the Sheffield to Buxton turnpike to a point southeast of Ringinglow.

The road is consistently 5 to 6 metres wide, with kerbstones either visible or just below the surface. In some places it is raised on an embankment up to 8 metres wide. The best evidence survives where it is independent of other routeways, either on an original course, as the descent below Carl Wark, or to the side of other routes, as on Houndkirk Moor. Where it coincides with the turnpike or bridleway remains, the remains are fragmentary or absent. It also disappears on eroded hillsides where eighteenth or nineteenth century routeways are still visible. Notably, at Winyards Nick (SK 251811), subsequent traffic has eroded up to 5 metres below the level at which the road entered the Nick. The physical evidence provides reasonable grounds for assigning the road remains to antiquity; the most probable origin being a Roman road.

The currently accepted course of the Roman road between Brough on Noe, Derbyshire (Anavio) and Templeborough, near Rotherham, across the gritstone moors, is the Long Causeway. Its Roman origin was first suggested by J. D. Leader in 1877, in a lecture on Roman Rotherham, and a description was published in Guest's History of Rotherham in 1879. The Roman Road was first shown on the 2nd Edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch plan in 1898/9. It received little attention until O'Neil (1945) gave a detailed description of the ascent of Stanage Edge. However, the absence of any reference to a road between Anavio and Templeborough in Pegge (1789) and Lysons (1817), and its omission by Hunter (1819), even when describing the bridleway at Stanage Pole, casts doubt on its authenticity. The road appears to have been a bridleway, and later a cartway to Stannington, from Bamford, and by The Ridgeway, from Hathersage. It appears in this form on the third edition of Jefferys (1771), although later editions, including the facsimile, show a branch to Hallam Head. The earliest use of the name Long Causeway or Causey appears to be a sketch by W. Fairbank dated 1792 in Hall (1932). Consequently, it is not impossible that the Roman road, if such existed, crossed the moors by a different route.





As the nearest approximation to a straight line between Anavio and Templeborough, Long Causeway is a convincing route for a Roman road, but it does suffer one major disadvantage; the ascent from Bamford to Stanage Edge, which cannot be approached directly, because of the gradients involved and several intervening valleys. Consequently, the several possible routes proposed are circuitous, and rely closely on the lines of a number of bridleways and tracks. The road across Hathersage, Burbage and Houndkirk Moors, on the other hand, makes use of the broken and dissected gritstone edges 2 miles south. By this route the road climbs a series of smaller edges by means of gaps, losing height between them, and involving a southward detour, with a change of direction on the high ground. The association with bridleways is greater, but this in turn shows the preference for this route by post-mediaeval traffic, and three turnpikes which crossed the moor north and south of the road. The last of these, the modern A 625, turnpiked 1812-1825, uses a similar south-eastward climb on the edges, and a return north-eastwards to Sheffield. The latter arm of the A625 corresponds to the Dore Gate Road, as shown on a plan in the Fairbanks Collection (HATH 8S).

The ascent from Hathersage through High Lee Wood is evident from SK 237811 to 242812, as an embankment copying, but slightly north of the present zig-zag track. It passes under quarry spoil and reappears at the top of the quarry face. On pasture east of Scraperlow, and on the gullied lower slopes of Millstone Edge, its course is uncertain. It is rediscovered as an embankment approaching Winyards Nick, immediately to the south of the fan of tracks which issue from the gap, but first appears at the head of a flush site, where there is a scatter of metalling, including lead slag.

The evidence for the road in Winyards Nick was not identified until 1981. At present the Nick, about 30 metres west of the summit, is 6 metres deep. At the time the road was in use the depth was not more than 2 metres, and this was in part the result of an artificial cutting. The road survives as a terrace on the south side of the gully, for 50 metres, then, in the narrower part of the ravine, 4 metres above the floor, it continues as a narrow ledge, formed by stones revetted into the slope. The terrace is 4 metres wide, with a small ditch and the scarp of the cutting on the south; also with lengths of kerb. Later traffic had eroded the softer material on the north side, eventually undercutting and reducing the width of the road, until it was left hanging on the side of the Nick. The foundation exposed is rough flaggy stone overlaid by rubble. The evidence of physical erosion by itself would be enough to assign significant antiquity to this road, however, as further proof, two roads enter the north side of the Nick at lower levels. One is a sunken track, opening onto the slope 1 metre below the road; the other is a probable pack road causeway, which is only a little above the present floor.

East of Winyards Nick, the road is almost obscured by later tracks. Continuing directly from the ledge at the summit of the Nick, the bank can be recognised from the complex of ridges for about 50 metres. For the next 300 metres it has almost disappeared, but two lines of kerbstones 6 metres apart, can be followed almost continuously through the heather, on the south side of the tracks. Locally, some features of the road are traceable, including the south side ditch. It has been suggested that modern visitors to Winyards Nick, which is a viewpoint, have caused most of the tracks, in which case erosion of the road remains it not proof of antiquity. Beyond a small stream, a rocky ridge obstructs the alignment, and the complex of tracks over and around it make a decision about the road continuation here uncertain. A much dissected bank does circuit the end of the ridge, and is the more convincing option.

A change of direction occurs at SK 260811, and the road is discernible in marshy ground, approaching a terraced incline, on the south-east slope of Carl Wark, and leading to a bridge across Burbage Brook at SK 264813. The road is constructed along the edge of the terraceway, and appears as a low bank, with kerbs 5 to 6 metres apart,

usually just below the surface. However, tussock grass and bracken obscure the bank except on close inspection. Over the last 300 metres of the descent, beyond a large rock, the bank is more prominent, and the kerbs are visible locally. There are no other tracks along the terraceway, but a track approaching Burbage Brook cuts through the bank. Burbage Brook is not sufficient to justify a bridge, although it appears to have been more substantial before the natural drainage from White Path Moss was altered. The stream has cut a gully 40 metres wide and 3-4 metres deep at this point, and within the space available a bridge is more practical than diversion to a ford. It is approached by a sunken incline followed by an abutment, the remains of which, reduced by the hairpin bend of the aforementioned track, appear as an oval mound and fragmentary outlines. The abutment is level with the east edge of the gully, 30 metres distant. Between the abutment and the stream is a mound which may be the site of a pier. A slight mound 11 metres to the east may be another, and the displacement of the tributary before it joins Burbage Brook suggests a pier between these. A terrace has been cut on the east edge of the gully, 3 metres wide, and the crest is revetted with stones. The road continues on a different alignment, faint for 35 metres to where it is crossed by a footpath, then for 40 metres, with local evidence of kerbs, until it fades in an area of gullies. A grassy strip through the rock-strewn ground is used, but continues on a slightly southward alignment from the road and ends in a steep gradient to the south-east. The bridleway (Y.A.J. 52) crosses Burbage Brook by a small bridge 70 metres upstream, following a descent from the north side of Carl Wark, and ascends to Burbage Edge by a hollow way formed in the back-scar of a landslip. The age of the rock piles and gullies which have removed all trace of the road cannot be determined, but have probably been static for several hundred years. A well constructed road with kerbs, of recent date, would surely still be evident on the slopes.

On the approach to Burbage Edge, and extending east over the high ground, there are a number of tracks which follow a broad terraceway. Remains of a pack road causeway meander from one side of the terraceway to the other, and the surface is strewn with rocks. Where it was expected that the road should diverge from the bridleway, at SK 272817, a gas pipeline obliterated the evidence in 1974, and beyond this are peat hags. There is no conclusive evidence for the road, except for the terraceway, and bank-like features near Burbage Edge. It was originally proposed that the road might have followed the bridleway route to Houndkirk Edge, and diverged from this onto the turnpike road, towards Houndkirk Moor. Remains of a bank can be seen making this change. Also, the bank is evident along the west flank of the turnpike, as the road was constructed partly on the bank, and partly on an artificial terrace. Several successive kerb lines are evident, and it is probable that subsidence necessitated several reconstructions of the turnpike. For these reasons, the course of the road from Burbage Brook to the summit of Houndkirk Moor (SK 280822) must be left open to question. The only link that can be offered is that the remains on Houndkirk Moor are on the same alignment as the terraceway on Burbage Edge, and parallel to the descent below Carl Wark.

Two heather fires exposed remains of a kerbed, cambered road on Houndkirk Moor, between SK 280822 and 284826. In the area affected by the first of these, in the midsixties, almost all trace has been weathered away, although it was visible on air photographs before the fire. The heat caused the gritstone metalling to fragment. The second fire, in August 1976, exposed 200 metres of a fine embankment, with side ditches, and prominent kerbstones, still devoid of vegetation six years after the fire. It appears to have a compact foundation of rough slabs, and has so far survived weathering, though the kerbstones are breaking up. The kerbs are 5 to 6 metres apart. It has been difficult to comprehend the indifference of archaeologists towards these remains: to my knowledge no follow-up survey has ever been carried out. Possible remains of a bridge were noted at

SK 282824, immediately west of Badger House (ruin, formerly Oxlow Lodge). The embankment continues through heather, crossing swampy ground at SK 28508268, where it is evident as firm ground, with ponding upstream. After ascending a slope it fades at a boundary bank constructed c 1919. Its contination to SK 290831 was identified from Meridian 10,500 scale photographs dated 1968, but has not been confirmed on the ground, except for a few faint traces. A continuation to SK 294834, where a possible bridge across Limb Brook was identified (Y.A.R. 51, p6) should be considered tentative, as is the suggested contination along Hangram Lane to Brookhouse Hill. There is no convincing evidence beyond SK 285827. The remains described diverge from the turnpike at the summit of Houndkirk Moor, SK 280822, and the continued alignment crosses the turnpike obliquely at SK 287828. It appears to have been abandoned in a relatively sound and usable state, and is unlikely to have been the "high road" to Buxton, predating the 1757 turnpike, as suggested in Y.A.J. 52. The 1758 Turnpike Act describes both the Manchester and Buxton roads as being 'in a very ruinous condition, narrow in many places, and dangerous to travellers, the same cannot be repaired and widened by the present methods prescribed by Law.' While it is possible that the remains on Houndkirk Moor may represent the predecessor of the turnpike, it seems unlikely that it should be abandoned in a serviceable state, and not robbed for metalling.

No explanation of the road as an eighteenth or nineteenth-century construction was found in the course of research, but descriptions and plans focus on the turnpikes, and neglect to define lesser routes. No conclusions should be drawn from this, except that reasonable steps have been taken to search for a recent origin. The best cartographic evidence is P. P. Burdett's Survey of Derbyshire, 1767, and the Fairbanks Collection in Sheffield City Library. Bray (1778) details a walk from the Buxton turnpike to the Manchester turnpike, across Yarncliff, Great Owler Tor and Carl Wark, but makes no

mention of any intervening road.

Summary

Remains of a kerbed, cambered road were discovered on the gritstone moors between Hathersage, Derbyshire and Sheffield, in 1976 to 1978. It was suggested that the road was part of the Roman road from Brough-on-Noe (Anavio) and Templeborough, near Rotherham, but the continuity of the remains was challenged, and further research and fieldwork was required. It is proposed that the present route, Long Causeway (Margary 710b), is not conclusively Roman. The course of the discovered remains is described in relation to other routeways across the moors, and noting the physical evidence for the age of the road.

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FINDS FROM THE ANGLIAN MONASTERY AT WHITBY

By Andrew White

SUMMARY A number of important finds of 7th-9th century date are discussed here, some of them being hitherto unpublished. They were all discovered between 1867 and 1876 in a small area to the east of Church Street in Whitby where they had apparently been dumped in rubbish. All the surviving items are now in the Museum of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society.

INTRODUCTION

Attention has for a long time focussed on the rich finds from the royal Northumbrian monastery at Whitby and its medieval successor, excavated by the then Office of Works between 1920 and 1928. Despite valiant attempts to place the finds in some sort of context with the extensive structural remains, using the original site plans and lists, most of them remain unassociated and useful mainly as a cross-section of the artefacts used in a rich and royal monastic house of this period. However, a comparable collection of finds, fewer in number but equal in interest, has been largely ignored. This consists of finds made between 1867 and 1876 in an area to the east of Church Street, Whitby, where rubbish from the Anglian monastery had been tipped down the cliff and was lodged on ledges and crannies in the cliff face, and formed a deposit of considerable depth at its foot.

All the finds which survive are in Whitby Museum and are discussed here by courtesy of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society. In particular I would like to thank the former Hon. Curator, Mr. J. G. Graham, for making the finds available to me and for his help in locating certain references to them in the Society's Annual Reports.

DISCOVERY

The area where the discoveries were made last century comprises part of the east cliff known then as Almshouse Close, but more recently as Jacky Fields⁴ (after the beach donkeys which are driven up here to graze each night during the season), and the immediately adjacent foot of the cliff which runs behind Church Street. Church Street is and was the main street of the town east of the river Esk and runs along a terrace raised above the harbour, culminating in Henrietta Street and the foot of the Church Stairs at its northernmost point.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the population of Whitby increased sharply as a result of the Greenland whaling industy,⁵ and much of the pressure for housing was relieved by the building of yards running back from the street frontages. Church Street, and particularly its northern end, was traditionally one of the most densely populated areas of Whitby. When the whaling industry declined the Whitby jet industry, hitherto a very minor occupation, sprang rapidly into prominence and became one of the main sources of employment. Jet shops and associated workshops were ubiquitous. ⁶ It was the

^{1.} C. Peers and C. A. Ralegh Radford. The Saxon Monastery of Whitby. Archaeologia 89, 1943, 27-88.

^{2.} R. Cramp. Anglo-Saxon Monasteries of the North. Scottish Archaeological Forum 5, 1974, 112-4.

^{3.} D. M. Wilson (ed). The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, 1976, 223-9, 453-7, 459-62.

^{4.} H. P. Kendall, History of the Abbey of Whitby, 1932, 11.

^{5.} G. Young. A History of Whitby, 1817, vol. II, 562 f.

^{6.} H. P. Kendall. The Story of Whitby Jet, 1936.

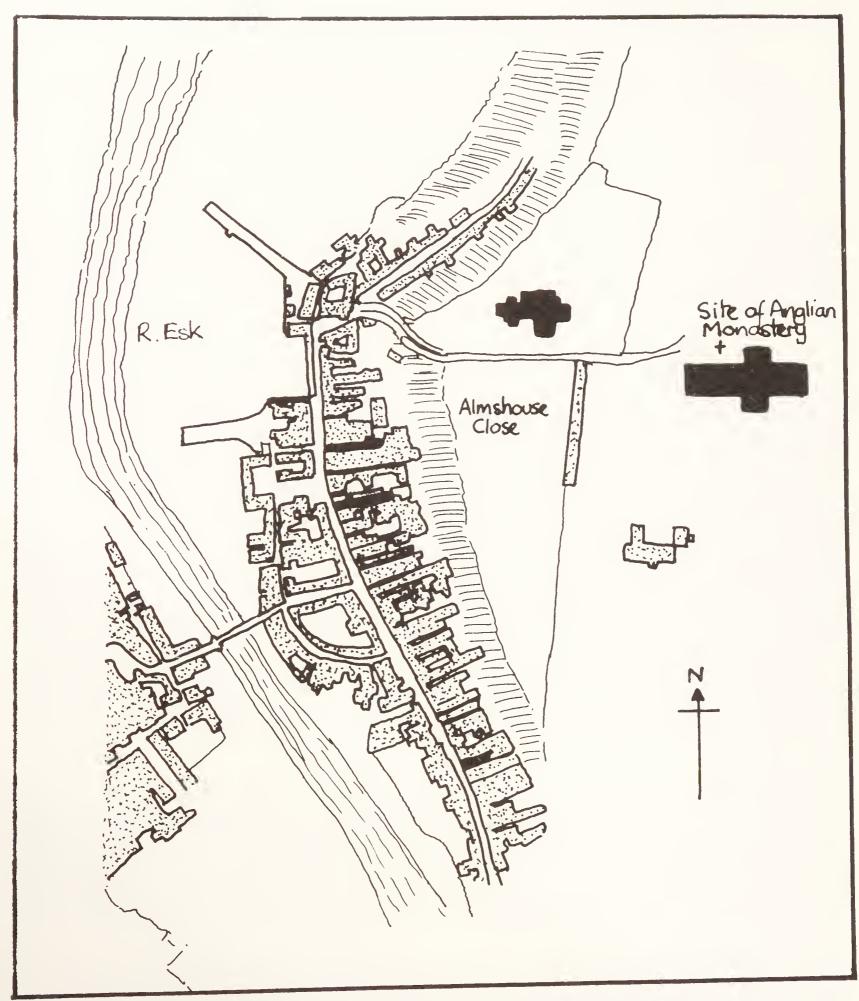


Fig. 1. Map of Whitby based on Wood's map of 1824. Marked in black are the medieval Abbey, the parish church, and the two yards where the finds were made.

construction of jet workshops in Black Horse Yard and Blackburns Yard on the eastern side of Church Street in 1874⁷ and 1876⁸ that led to many of the discoveries. The earliest recorded discoveries were made in 1867 in Almshouse Close, evidently on the upper ledges of the cliff, but Haigh refers in 1875¹⁰ to 'diggings, extending over twenty years, on the slope and at the foot', and so if his evidence is to be trusted both the main areas

^{7.} H. P. Kendall. The Streets of Whithy and their associations new edn, 1948, 10.

^{8.} See below.

^{9.} The earliest references do not give the findspot by name but the description tallies with Kendall (*loc. cit.* in note 4) and in P. Hood. *Whitby Abbey*, 1950, 45.

^{10.} D. H. Haigh. The Monasteries of St. Hieu and St. Hilda Yorkshire Archaeological Journal III, 1875, 370.

were being dug over from c. 1855.

These finds were regularly stated to have come from the 'Kitchen Midden' of the Anglian monastery, the theory being that they had been flung over the cliff among more perishable domestic rubbish.

Though it does appear highly probable that the deposits were of rubbish tipped over the cliff during the 7th and 8th centuries the wide range of finds suggests that they emanated from a variety of monastic buildings and not simply kitchens. Furthermore the site lies at some distance from the Abbey – at least that part of it that was revealed in 1920–8. It may have been the nearest available cliff edge, bearing in mind the extensive erosion that has taken place over the last thirteen centuries on the north-facing cliffs, which are more exposed to the sea. ¹² It is, of course, equally possible that rubbish was tipped over a considerable stretch of cliffs, wherever was most convenient, but that clifffalls and erosion have destroyed most of the evidence except in the more sheltered areas. Much more undoubtedly remains to be discovered in vacant spaces between Church Street and the East Cliff.

A number of individuals were concerned in the 19th century discoveries. The first was William Dotchon of Whitby who with his brother found the famous Runic comb in Almshouse Close in 1867. 13 He lent it to the Literary and Philosophical Society in the same year and made his loan into a gift in 188214 in return for an Honorary Life Membership of the Society. The comb was exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1872 by S. C. Greaves. Its inscription was discussed by Rev. D. H. Haigh of Erdington who seems to have become interested in the site: in 1875 he gave a brief resumé of the finds made up to that date. 15 His principal informant was F. K. Robinson of Whitby who with a friend had made further discoveries in 1874, including another bone comb, pottery, and a lead bulla. The exact find-spot is unclear as later writers have conflated finds of 1874 and 1876, but it seems to have been the upper end of Black Horse Yard. 16 Also in 1874 Canon Atkinson, rector of Danby, appears to have taken a hand in the site, a change from his more usual hobby of barrow-digging. He records his finds collected over a period of ten minutes!¹⁷ These included part of a comb and sherds of pottery (could he have been working alongside Robinson?). Atkinson believed the site to be very large, while according to Haigh up to seven feet depth of bones etc. had been observed beneath the foundations of walls. In 1876 further discoveries were made during the building of a jet workshop in either Black Horse Yard or Blackburns Yard 18 for Richard Thompson. The only recorded and surviving item was a bronze openwork comb, presented many years later to the Literary and Philosophical Society by G. Thompson of Spital Bridge, Whitby. 19 In 1876 Canon Atkinson and Rev.

^{11.} eg. Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society Annual Report for 1874, 1875, 13n. F. and H. W. Elgee. The County Archaeologies: Yorkshire, 1933, 191.

^{12.} P. A. Rahtz. 'Whitby 1958'. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal CLX, 1962, 604n.

^{13.} Archaeological Journal, XXIX, 1872, 280f.

^{14.} Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society Annual Report for 1882. 1883, and H. B. Browne. The Story of Whitby Museum, 1949, 34, 137.

^{15.} Haigh. loc. cit.

^{16.} Kendall, 1948. loc. cit.

^{17.} J. C. Atkinson. History of Cleveland I, 1874, 141ff.

^{18.} Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXIX, 1927-9, 350 and plate; Antiquaries Journal, XI, 1929, 158-9. According to Frank Sutcliffe, the correspondent, the 1876 site was in Blackburn's Yard, a little to the north of Black Horse Yard, and the comb was found 'in digging foundations of (jet) shops in 1875-6 by Richard Thompson, of the Black Horse Inn'.

No other writer follows Sutcliffe, but his account is circumstantial and it is easy to see how the details could have become confused by others. Sutcliffe is better known as the great 19th and early 20th century photographer of Whitby, and can be considered a most reliable witness.

^{19.} Caption in Whitby Museum.

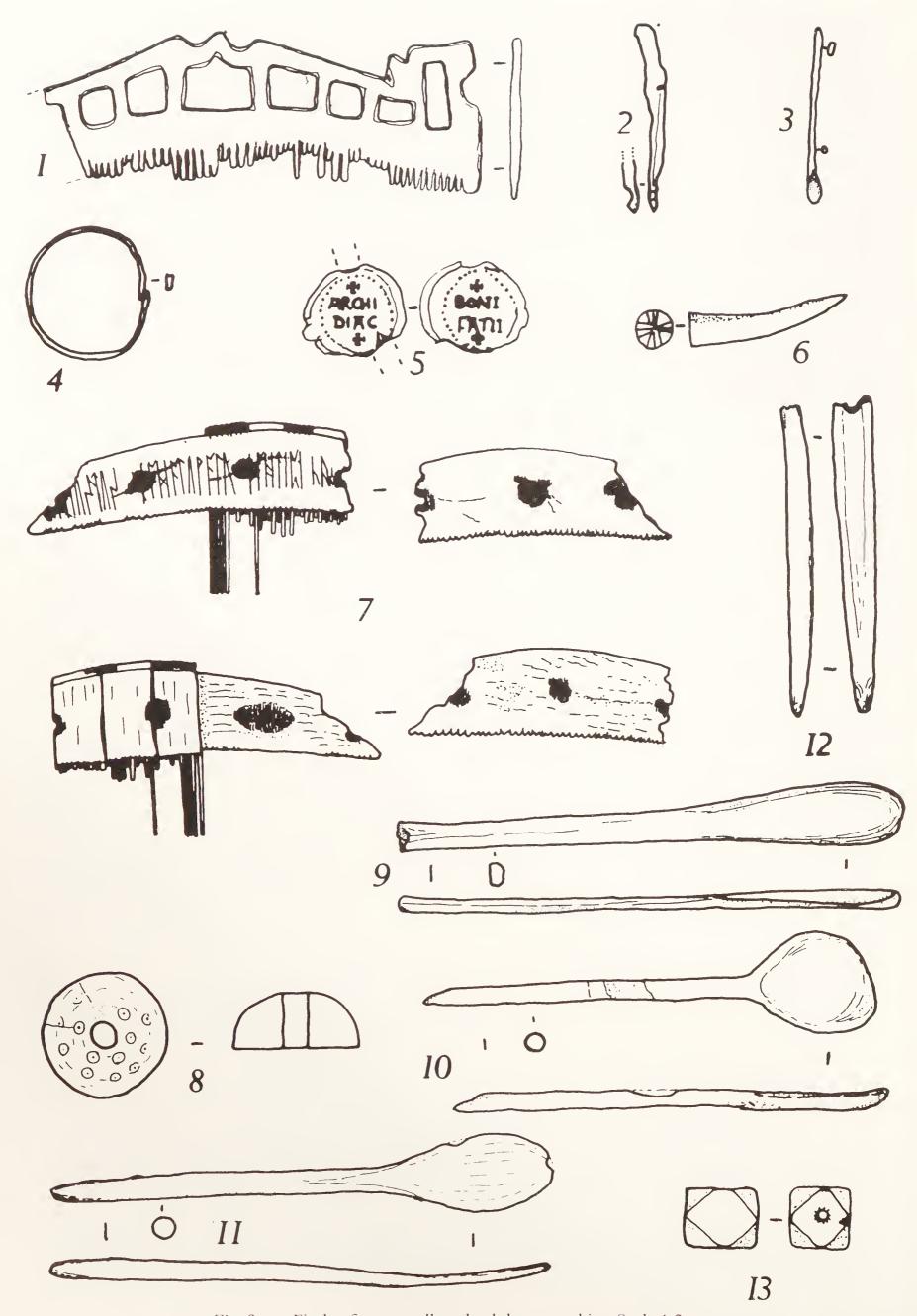


Fig. 2. Finds of copper alloy, lead, bone, and jet. Scale 1:2.

Haigh presented their accumulated finds to the Society;²⁰ among them were probably a number of items acquired from other finders by these two gentlemen.

A large number of the recorded finds were never given to the Society and must be presumed lost unless they remain in private hands. There are also several objects in Whitby Museum which are provenanced on their labels to 'the Anglian site, Whitby Abbey'. Their status remains uncertain and they could either be from the 'Kitchen Midden' or from unofficial collections from spoil-heaps during the excavations of 1920-8. At all events they are derived ultimately from the Anglian monastery and are published here for the first time.

THE FINDS

Copper Alloy

- 1. Openwork cast comb found in either Black Horse or Blackburns Yard, 1876. About one quarter is missing, and most of the teeth are broken off short. They were evidently filed out of a cast blank. The upper part with its openwork decoration²¹ is vaguely zoomorphic in design and can be seen as two affronted animals, but it may be simply a modification of the hogback comb in a different medium. Openwork is commonplace in the Anglian region as a decoration on girdle-hangers, and occasionally on brooches and buckles. It also occurs in the Somme area in the 7th and 8th centuries. Bronze combs, let alone openwork combs, are extremely rare. A very small comb with incised lines rather than openwork and with a hole for suspension, was found in a tumulus near Saulines in France last century.²² The Whitby comb appears so far to be unique in this country and possibly in Europe. Perhaps it is a Frankish import, which would fit in with the wealth and foreign contacts of the monastery. For its function see below (Runic comb.).
- 2. Irregular object, thickened at one end and with a slight 'foot' at the other. Date and circumstances of find unknown, but labelled 'from the site of the Anglian Monastery' in Whitby Museum. The function is not clear, but it may be part of the pin of an annular or penannular brooch.
- 3. Scoop with a handle of flattened section becoming cylindrical as it nears the bowl. Circumstances of find as 2. Presumably this was used for ointment or perfumed unguent in the Roman manner.²³
- 4. Large ring or small bracelet. Circumstances of find as 2. The ends overlap, either to allow items to be slipped on or for adjustment, and it is flat in section. It would serve as a bracelet for a small child or as a suspension ring for items such as 3.

Lead

5. Roughly circular *bulla* found in Black Horse Yard in 1874 by F. K. Robinson. Running through the *bulla* is a slot for the cord by which it was attached to the document (also called a *bulla*). The type is familiar from the very common Papal bullae²⁴ which carry the name of the Pope on one face and stylized portraits of

^{20.} Browne. op. cit. 136.

^{21.} For other examples of openwork decoration see British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, 1923, p. 149 Fig. 199; G. Baldwin Brown The Arts in Early England 1915, vol. IV. 401n; and M. J. Pilloy. 'Les Plaques Ajourées Carolingiennes', Bulletin Archéologique du Comité Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques no. 3, 1893, figs. 1, 4, 5, 6, and E. Salin. La Civilisation Merovingienne vol. 4, 1959, 156, 160-1, 301, 328.

^{22.} M. Tudot. Bulletin Monumental 3rd Series, VII, 1861, 590-1.

^{23.} A variety of scoops is shown among pins found in the Whitby excavation. See Peers and Radford op. cit. 63, Fig. 14.

^{24.} W. de G. Birch. A Catalogue of Seals in the Dept. of MSS in the British Museum, 1900, vol. VI, 253-320.

SS. Peter and Paul on the other. On this very exceptional early bulla the name is given across both faces: BONI/FATII/ARCHI/DIAC/ with crosses above and below, with a slightly raised border of irregular dots. Two Bonifaces held the post of Archdeacon at Rome²⁵ one in 685 AD and one some thirty years earlier with whom St. Wilfrid became acquainted. It has been suggested that the document which this bulla accompanied was concerned with the Synod of Whitby in 664 AD, 26 but is is probable that many official Papal documents were sent to this rich monastery, their survival being a matter of mere chance. At a point on the bulla nearly 90° from the axis of the cord-slot is a slight projection with signs of trimming. This probably marks the position of the casting jet on the original blank.

Conical lead object with slightly incised design in the form of an expanding

cross. Possibly for use as a seal. Circumstances of find as 2.

Bone

6.

Comb with teeth on one side only. The side pieces are of split rib, probably 7. bovine, and are held together with iron rivets, of which evidence of four survives. Only just over half the length of the comb remains, and only five of the teeth. The teeth are cut in groups of about ten from narrow rectangular plates sandwiched between the side pieces, and the top end of each plate is notched at intervals, perhaps to give the impression that some of the teeth run right through. The comb is famous for its Runic inscription inscribed into the longer surviving side piece. Page 27 reads this as 'daeus maeus god aluwaludo helipae Cy ---.' or 'My God, may God Almighty help Cy ----', the last fragment being presumably part of a personal name. The first two words are in Latin, the rest in Old English, and the missing part of the comb would have held sufficient space for eight further runes. It is also possible that the case into which the teeth would have fitted may have carried a further or extended inscription. Found in Almshouse Close, 1867.

(A further bone comb, this time with two sets of teeth, was found in Black

Horse Yard in 1874, but does not survive.)

This comb and the bronze example, bearing in mind their exceptional nature, may have been used for liturgical purposes, eg. by the celebrant of the Mass.28

Hemispherical spindle whorl with ring and dot ornament. Found in Black 8.

Horse Yard, 1874.

Three bone spoons²⁹ with handles of circular section. 10 has a roughly circular 9-11. bowl with wear showing use by a right-handed person. All found in Black Horse Yard, 1874.

Bede. Historia Ecclesiastica III. 25.

P. Lasko, 'The Comb' in C. F. Battiscombe. The Relics of St. Cuthhert, 1956, 336-55.

^{25.} C. Serafini. Le monete e le Bolle Plumbee Pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano, Vol. I, 1900. Serafini does not list archidiaconal bullae but the most comparable papal bullae for size, lettering and layout are those of Theodore I (642-9) and Vitalian (657-72). Tav. A. nos. 10-11, pp 1-2. (The Secret Archives of the Vatican have no knowledge of any other bullae of Archdeacon Boniface).

R.I. Page. Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Annual Report 1966, 1967, pp 11-15. See also R. I. Page. 'Anglo-Saxon Runes and Magic'. Journal of the British Archaeological Association. 3rd Series, Vol. xxvii, 1964, 14-31 for a more general discussion of runes and their function. See D. M. Wilson. The Anglo-Saxons, 1971, 57; L. Laing. Late Celtic Britain and Ireland, 1975, 300-1, and

Bone spoons of more elaborate - and later - type are known from Winchester - cf. J. Collis and B. Kjølbye-Biddle 'Early Medieval Bone Spoons from Wincheser'. Antiquaries Journal 59, 1979, 374 ff. Wooden examples with narrow bowls occur at York. - cf. D. M. Waterman 'Late Saxon, Viking, and Farly Medieval Finds from York'. Archaeologia XCVII, 1959, 85-6.

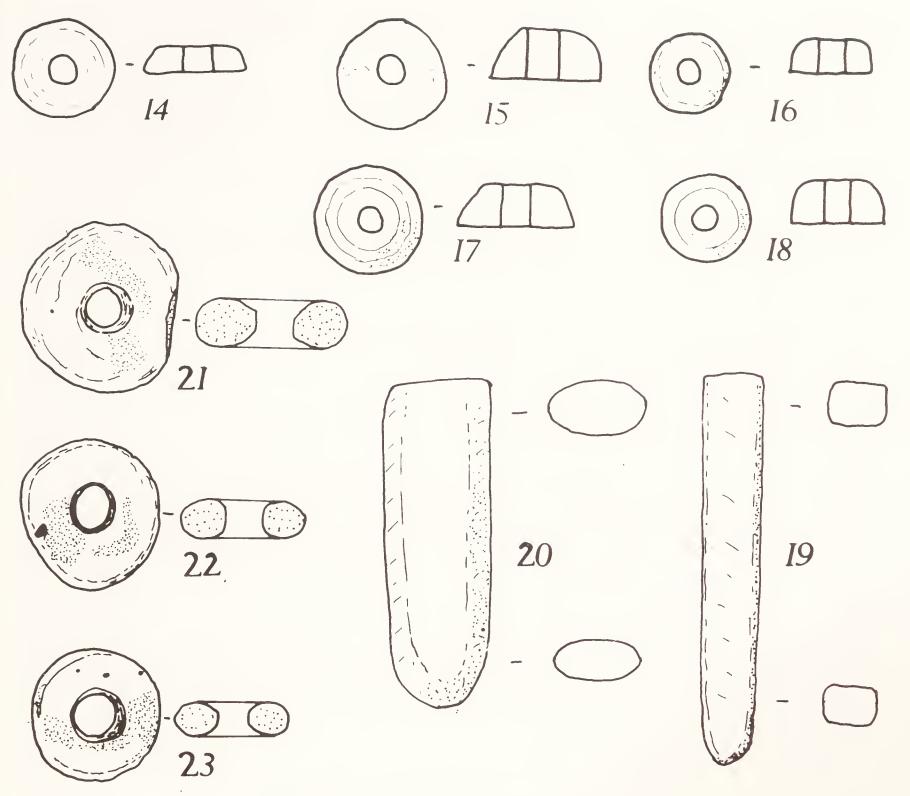


Fig. 3. Finds of stone and fired clay. Scale 1:2, except nos. 21-3, 1:4.

12. Broad needle, broken through the eye. Circumstances of find unknown.

Jet 13

Faceted bead with longitudinal perforation. The ends show the radial grooves of a countersinking bit. Found in Black Horse Yard, 1874. This is a common type in Pagan Saxon burials. Other jet beads, some unfinished, were apparently found at the same time.

Stone

- Plain spindle-whorls, 30 with diameters varying from 22 to 30 mm, all from 'the Anglian Site, Whitby Abbey'.
 - 14. Fine limestone, 28 mm diam.
 - 15. Crumbly sandstone, 30 mm, diam.
 - 16. Fine dense grey stone (pebble?) 22 mm diam.
 - 17. Fine dense grey stone, decorated with two grooves. 30 mm diam.
 - 18. Hard grey sedimentary. 25 mm diam.

^{30.} These are exceptionally hard to date. Large numbers have been recovered from Anglo-Scandinavian contexts at Lincoln and York. cf. also Peers and Radford op. cit. Fig. 23, 74.

19-20 Two whetstones³¹ of different section in a very fine dense grey stone. Lengths 107 and 98 mm respectively.

Clay

Three baked clay loomweights of intermediate form, ³² diameters 90, 81 and 72 mm respectively.

24. (Not illustrated). Lump of clay daub with wicker impressions.

These are all the surviving finds in Whitby Museum, though it is possible that other items still remain in private hands. Finds recorded which do not survive include the following:³³.

Iron. A small shovel.

A scraper with a dowel for attachment to a handle.

Two flat rings $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (114 mm.) diam.

Three pothooks.

Two fragments of iron arrowheads? 'A piece of iron like a flattened nail'.

Bone A two-edged comb. (see above).

Horn A curved horn 9" (228 mm) long with two compartments.

Glass Part of a bead spotted inside with yellow. (nb. Whitby Museum also has an elliptical bead in millefiori glass found in 1872 in an old working in the Jet Rock of the cliff, one hundred feet (30 m) in, also by Mr. W. Dotchon. There could be some confusion here).

Clay Bases of pots.

On the whole it is those items likely to have been in poor condition or of doubtful purpose which do not survive. There also seems to be some duplication in this list.

^{31.} Waterman op. cit. 97-9.

^{32.} cf. G. C. Dunning, J. G. Hurst, J. N. L. Myres and F. Tischler, 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium' *Medieval Archaeology*, 3, 1959, 23-5. Peers and Radford. op. cit. 83, illustrate loom-weights from the excavations at Whitby.

^{33.} Haigh. op. cit. 371.

AN EARLY-MEDIEVAL, SPLASHED-GLAZED POTTERY KILN AT MARKET PLACE, DONCASTER

By COLIN HAYFIELD

Summary The pottery from site DMP, Market Place, Doncaster included forty-eight sherds from no more than thirty original vessels; they were of early-medieval date, and all were in the same gritty fabric, many partly wasted and overfired. They came from the remains of a kiln-like feature.

The Site

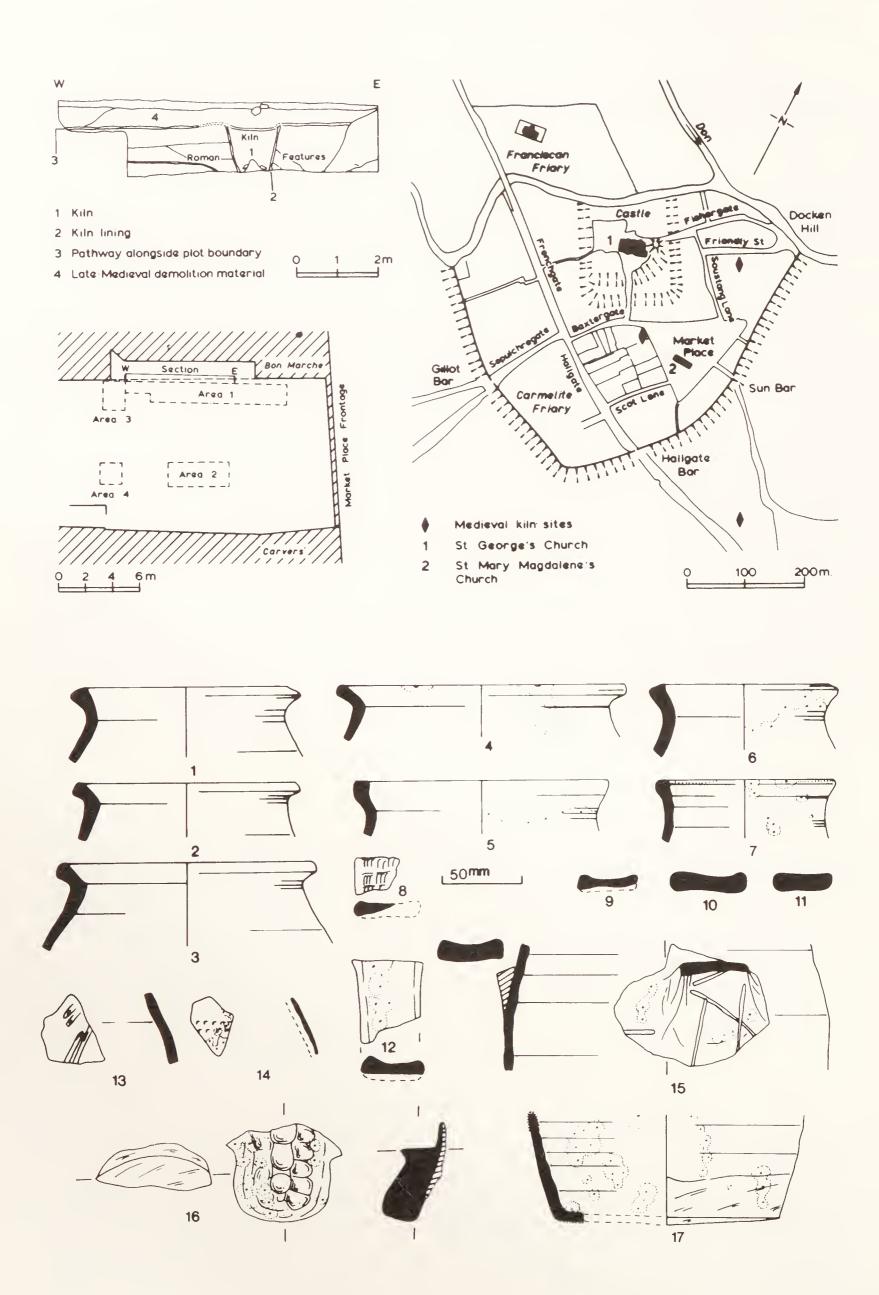
The Site (DMP) fronts onto the west side of the Market Place and in 1977 it was redeveloped as offices for the Halifax Building Society (Map ♠). Building work involved the mechanical excavation of four trenches (Plan 1-4); and it was areas 1 and 3, situated near the boundary wall with the adjacent shop 'Bon Marche', which produced the pottery fragments described here. The archaeological recording of the site was undertaken by Mr. S. Roe of Doncaster Museum.

Most of the pottery came from a pit-like feature revealed in the northern section of area 1 (Sect./1); surviving to a depth of 1m and about 1.75m wide at the top. The sides of this feature comprised a burnt, red, sandy soil (Sect./2) and it was filled with a burnt, brown clay, flecked with charcoal. Along with other features on the site, it had been badly disturbed by the cutting of the trench but most of the pottery would appear to have derived from it and it may therefore be tentatively interpreted as a pottery kiln. This feature was sealed by a 50mm thick gravel and pebble pathway (Sect./3), aligned with the adjacent tenement and this was overlain by late-medieval demolition material (Sect./4). The layout of the existing tenement boundary between 'Bon Marche' and site DMP would therefore seem to post-date the use of the kiln feature which clearly extended beyond the line of the section. Apart from the remains of this kiln, there was no other evidence to indicate the original size and extent of pottery manufacture in the vicinity.

The Pottery

The fabric of the waster sherds from feature 1 compares closely with the Doncaster, Hallgate 'C' fabric (Buckland *et al* 1979, 12-13) and belongs to the regional tradition of gritty wares which was common across much of Yorkshire (Hayfield 1983, 672-681). Most of the sherds are heavily tempered to the extent that angular to sub-angular grains of translucent to milky quartz project from the surface of the sherds giving an overall very rough surface texture. Sub-rounded to rounded fragments of ironstone (haematite) are also fairly frequent (<10%) and small grains of limestone, usually destroyed in the firing process (<1%) may be found. Surface colours vary but most sherds are light red (2.5YR 6/8) in the fresh break. The nature of the filler suggests a source in till deposits, although the nearest outcrop lies 1km to the north-east of Doncaster.

	Splashed				
Vessel No.	Glaze	Decorated	Overfired	Wasted	Illust. No.
6	2		4	_	1-4
2	2	1	1		5, 16
11	11	3	8	3	6-15, 17
11	5		9	1	
30	20	4	22	4	_
	6 2 11 11	Vessel No. Glaze 6 2 2 2 11 11 11 5	Vessel No. Glaze Decorated 6 2 — 2 2 1 11 11 3 11 5 —	Vessel No. Glaze Decorated Overfired 6 2 — 4 2 2 1 1 11 11 3 8 11 5 — 9	Vessel No. Glaze Decorated Overfired Wasted 6 2 — 4 — 2 2 1 1 — 11 11 3 8 3 11 5 — 9 1



All vessels were competently wheel-finished; evidence for coil construction was slight and confined to thicker sherds which had not been overfired. A number of the region's coarse and finewares were coil-built during the early-medieval period (Hayfield 1980, 29-33). Only pitchers and jugs appear to have been intentionally splashed-glazed (the application of a lead-based glaze compound in a dry, granular state), although several of the cooking-pots had accidental drips of glaze. This glaze varies in colour from olive-green (5Y 5/4) to orange-brown (7.5YR 5/8). Decoration appears primitive with the exception of the rouletting of No. 14 which parallels that of the region's late-Saxon cooking-pots and it is conceivable that this sherd may derive from such a vessel. The applied feature, No. 16 appears, from the shape of its attachment scar, to be a foot, presumably from a large tripod pitcher; although, with the exception of Stamford wares, such forms are rare in the Yorkshire/Lincolnshire region. Its applied decoration indicates a product of comparative commercial importance.

Date Range

As none of these forms conform to known late-Saxon types, they can be safely assigned to the medieval period. Where glaze was used, it was consistently of splashed type; a techique which was replaced in the region by suspension glazes (lead-based glaze compounds mixed with a clay slurrey) by the third quarter of the twelfth century (Hayfield 1983, 389-391). They should therefore pre-date the suspension glazed C fabric wasters which were the earliest of the three fabrics from the Hallgate kilns and which were probably of late twelfth century date (Buckland *et al* 1979, 55-57). The introduction of splashed glazes to the region has not yet been closely dated but it probably took place during the eleventh century. It is therefore suggested that this manufactory was active somewhere between the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century.

Discussion

This is the third and earliest area of pottery manufacture to be discovered at Doncaster. It was probably in production during the lifespan of the early-medieval castle (see Map) but would appear to have ceased production before the layout of the properties on the west side of the Market Place, perhaps in the second half of the twelfth century. Such industries and potteries were often regarded as both noxious and a fire hazard and their removal from an area of redevelopment would be appropriate. Indeed, there cannot be a great chronological discrepancy between these wasters and the later ones from the Hallgate kilns situated in Doncaster's suburbs beyond the town defences. By the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, kilns were back again within the defences, this time to the south of Friendly Street (see Map) where urban expansion seems to have failed. During the early fourteenth century, pottery production at Doncaster ceased and supplies were largely drawn from rural sources, principally to the west.

References

Buckland et al 1979 P. C. Buckland, M. J. Dolby, C. Hayfield and J. R. Magilton. *The Medieval Pottery Industry at Hallgate, Doncaster*. The Archaeology of Doncaster: The Medieval Town 2/1. A Doncaster Museum and Arts Service Publication.

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GROSMONT PRIORY

By Noreen Vickers

It was St. Stephen of Muret who founded the Order of Grandmont about 1076 in the diocese of Limoges. The brethren were divided into clerks and lay brothers, the latter being solely responsible for the business of the house. Stephen did not leave a written rule but after his death in 1124 the brethren wrote down all his teaching and a Rule of St. Stephen was compiled. This was an enclosed order with Grandmont as its hub, having 140 cells by the middle of the twelfth century.

The order was granted exemption from the jurisdiction of bishops by a Bull of Pope Clement III in 1189. Pope Honorius III in 1223 dispensed the order from the observance of those chapters of the rule which forbade them to hold lands outside their houses, to breed animals, to go to markets and fairs and to defend themselves in courts of law.

There were three houses of this order in England. One was at Grosmont in Eskdale, North Yorkshire and the others were at Craswall in Herefordshire and Alberbury in Shropshire. All were administered for the benefit of the mother house at Grandmont. The Prior of Grandmont had the right to appoint the heads of the houses who were known as correctors, though some charters call them custodes and some prior. They were bound to attend general chapters in France frequently if not every year and to bring with them the annual pensions due to the mother house. Nothing could be sold or alienated without the consent of the head house.

The priory at Grosmont was founded about 1200 by Joan Fossard, daughter of William Fossard of Egton, Mulgrave and Doncaster, and wife of Robert de Torneham. She gave the land and various privileges to the priory at Grandmont in France. Perhaps as her husband was seneschal of Anjou in 1199 and seneschal of Poitou and Gascony from 1201 to 1204, she preferred to do this rather than give them to an English house. The grant included 200 acres of woodland, the right to take timber for building in the whole forest; a mill at Egton; pasturage for 40 cows and their calves; 500 sheep; 10 horses; 10 sows; two boars; a house in York; land at Goldsborough; the services of four villeins based at Egton, Goldsborough, Doncaster and Sandsend. Before his death in 1211 Robert de Torneham confirmed his wife's charter and gave another 100 acres in the forest. In 1213 a confirmation charter was issued by King John. Joan and her husband also granted the advowson of the church at Lockington to Grosmont. Afterwards Peter de Mauley and his wife Isabella confirmed the grant which was also confirmed in 1228 by Archbishop Gray with license of the pope.

In 1252 Brother Reginald of Craswall was appointed delegate to the Prior of Grandmont in England. By this time it had become impossible to govern the English houses entirely from France. The English supremacy passed to Alberbury in 1302. The other two houses would appear to have been more important in the eyes of the mother house than Grosmont. The latter never achieved the position of being the supreme English house.

As the De Mauleys of Mulgrave Castle were patrons of Grosmont Priory through the marriage of Isabella, daughter of Joan Fossard, with the first Peter De Mauley, strong

^{1.} Rose Graham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its architecture. 1 - The Order' *Archaeologia* LXXV, pp. 159-171. 'subsequently referred to as Graham, 1926'.

^{2.} J. C. Atkinson, History of Cleveland Part 2 (Barrow in Furness 1874) pp. 200-202.

^{3.} Register of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York, Surtees Society 56 (1872) p. 22.

links were always maintained between them. In March 1278 the Prior of Grosmont baptised the infant son of Peter De Mauley III in the chapel at Mulgrave Castle.⁴

A royal writ was issued at Worcester in 1281 directed to the Sheriff of Yorkshire commanding him to enquire if it be to the damage of the king if Peter De Mauley be allowed to enfoeff the Priory of Grosmont with land in the barony of Mulgrave to the value of £20. In 1284 an inquisition was held at Egton. Robert Buscell and his 11 cojurors said upon oath that Peter De Mauley held the tenements with which he proposed to enfoeff the priory. 'It is not to the damage of anyone if the said Peter should give £20 worth of land'.⁵

Like other ecclesiastical establishments, Grosmont was taxed by Pope Nicholas IV in 1291. The house was assessed at £8. In the same year the Pope granted indulgences of one year and 40 days to all who visited the church of the corrector and brethren of the house

of the Blessed Virgin at Grosmont on her feasts and at their octaves.7

Peter De Mauley III confirmed the mill at Egton to the corrector of Grosmont, Roger de Cresswell and the brethren in 1294. The grant stated that the brethren were 'of the English nation' and went on to say that they were to have two more chaplains who were to say daily masses for the souls of he and his wife and their ancestors and yearly masses to commemorate his parents and Nicholaa his wife. Kendall follows Charlton in that he declares Peter to be returning the mill at Egton to the monks whereas Atkinson states that this was merely a confirmation charter of Joan Fossard's original grant. This grant mentions the fact that the brethren were 'of the English nation' and one assumes that the first monks came from France but by 1294 had been replaced by local men. The corrector presumably came from Craswall and most likely brought some companions with him.

Archbishop Corbridge addressed a notice of visitation to Grosmont in 1301. He called the house a 'priory' which at that date was incorrect. The brethren and the prior were to present themselves before him at Whitby Abbey. This was an alien house and had been granted exemption from the jurisdiction of bishops yet the Archbishop of York was able

to overrule this exemption.9

The Knights Templars had reached a low ebb at the beginning of the fourteenth century and in 1311 they had to appear in Convocation before the Archbishop of York and certain ecclesiastical dignitaries, to defend themselves against the charges laid to them. The Prior of Grosmont is named as being one of these men so an alien house must have been respected by the Archbishop and its head to have had equality with other priors.¹⁰

In 1317 the Order of Grandmont was reconstituted by Pope John XXII owing to the rival claims of two priors and serious financial difficulties. The mother house was raised to the status of an abbey and the total number of brethren was reduced from 886 to 712. There was no change in the relations between Grandmont and the English houses except

for the fact that the heads of the latter were to be known as priors.11

The Hundred Years War with France began in 1337 and alien houses were ordered to be seized. Bishops had to make returns of all such in their diocese. An inquisition was held at Grosmont in 1344 and it was reported by the escheator that all the brethren were English. The convent was annexed for taxation at £8 but was worth £20. The stock

6. Graham, 1926 p. 177.

7. Cal. of Papal Letters Vol. 1p. 538.

^{4.} Yorkshire inquisitions Vol. IV, Y.A.S. Record Series XXXVII (1906) p. 5 note.

^{5.} Yorkshire inquisitions Vol. II, Y.A.S. Record Series XXIII (1897) p. 13.

^{8.} H. P. Kendall, The Priory of Grosmont in Eskdale (Whitby, 1929). L. Charlton, History of Whitby (York, 1779). J. C. Atkinson, History of Cleveland Part 2 (Barrow in Furness, 1874).

^{9.} Register of Thomas Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, Part 1, Surtees Society 138 (1925) p. 125. 10. Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, Part IV, Surtees Society 152 (1937) p. 365.

^{11.} Graham, 1926 p. 180.

GROSMONT PRIORY 47

consisted of 24 oxen, four cows with calves, one horse and two mares, 100 sheep and 40 lambs, 20 quarters of wheat and 100 quarters of oats. There were nine brethren plus four servants besides labourers to plough and look after the beasts. Five men had corrodies worth 30 shillings a year and it was stated that the brethren gave hospitality to all passers by but lands and livestock did not produce enough to maintain them without alms from outsiders. Because the house was so poor it was released from custody. ¹² During the war

no pensions were paid to Grandmont and no visitors were sent to England.

Shortly before 1357 John of Cublington of Grosmont Priory left the house without leave and with a sum of money. He managed to induce the Abbot of Grandmont to nominate him Prior at Alberbury and also of Craswall. In 1357 Edward III appointed a commission to enquire into his conduct at Alberbury. He had alienated manors without the consent of the brethren, carried away relics and vestments, killed a woman called Alice Peckenhall and badly wounded one of the brethren. The Bishop of Hereford laid an interdict on the priory church and John had installed eight powerful men to collect the goods and profits of the priory. By 1359 the situation had become so awful that two brethren from Alberbury wrote a letter to the Abbot of Grandmont giving a detailed account of the deeds of John who had now withdrawn to Craswall, and asking him to invervene. In September 1359 Abbot Crespi sent a letter to the three English houses. John was deposed and Brother Robert of Newton was appointed Prior of Alberbury with power to appoint priors to Grosmont and Craswall. He was instructed to visit the three houses each year, to get an account of receipts and expenses and to see that there was a common seal in each priory. Prior Robert died in 1364 and a fresh struggle began between two rival priors at Alberbury. Abbot Crespi again intervened to restore the rightful claimant. 13

The war with France was still dragging on and Richard II seized the three alien priories. Abbot Pierre de Redondeau visited England as ambassador for the King of France but lost hope of recovering anything from the English houses and was willing to sell them if possible. In 1394 he renounced his rights to the advowson of Grosmont and all its property and any claim to a pension in favour of John Hewett alias Sergeant and his heirs for ever. The transaction was recognised by Richard II on condition that during the war 30 shillings a year should be paid to the Royal Exchequer and all connection between Grosmont and Grandmont was severed.

During the period between John of Cublington leaving Grosmont and the priory becoming independent of Grandmont, one or two disasters had befallen the house. Fire destroyed the church, bell-tower, cloister, refectory, dormitory and nearly the whole priory including bells, vestments and church vessels in 1360. Pope Innocent VI granted indulgences of one year and 40 days to all who gave alms and visited Grosmont on certain feast days.¹⁵

Pope Urban VI sent a commission to the Abbot of Whitby in 1387 asking him to recover property which had been unlawfully alienated from Grosmont by the prior and brothers themselves.¹⁶

The two other Grandimontine houses remained in the hands of the king and apparently he only allowed the bare necessities to be supplied to the brethren. In 1414 Henry V suppressed all alien houses. Grosmont escaped this suppression as it had severed all ties with France in 1394 but Craswall and Alberbury were not so fortunate. They both became part of the university system in 1441. Alberbury was given to All Souls' College,

^{12.} Cal. of Letters Close 1343–1346 p. 76. Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous Chancery II p. 467, 468.

^{13.} Graham, 1926 p. 182.

^{14.} Rot. Pat. 18 Richard II pt. 1, m. 11.

^{15.} Cal. of Papal Petitions 1. 352.

^{16.} Whitby Chartulary Vol. II. Surtees Society 72 (1879) p. 677.

Oxford and Craswall to God's House, Cambridge, afterwards united to Christ's College.

Like other monastic establishments Grosmont Priory would have various gifts left to it by benefactors but only two wills have been traced. Thomas Boynton of Rowsby left 6s 8d to the 'friars of Grosmont' in 1523 and John Ledum of Whitby also left 6s 8d in 1530.¹⁷

The main source of information for the priory is the Suppression Papers of Henry VIII. A record of the buildings is preserved in the survey made by the King's Commissioners in 1536. The church was 70 feet long and 24 feet broad with a lead covered roof and having three glass windows containing 40 feet of glass and 16 stalls of timber. In his *History of Whitby'* of 1817, George Young claimed that the foundations of this church were still visible but he declared them to be 100 feet long and 40 feet broad which does not tally with the official survey. Clapham thought that the original church was as large as Young claims and that it had a chapel on the north side, so giving a width of 40 feet. He suggested that the change in size was a result of the disastrous fire of 1360 when the priory was so poverty stricken it had to abandon part of the quire of the conversi who by this time had disappeared as a class, build a wall across the church 70 feet from the east end and allow the rest of the building including the north chapel to fall into ruin. This would result in a church measuring 70 feet by 24 feet.

Looking at the descriptions of the individual buildings one sees that a number were decayed so the actual priory was not a flourishing well-kept establishment. The cloister walk was 'ill covered with slates and decayed'; the high hall over the west part of the cloister was covered with slates and all the windows were unglazed, the walls being of timber and decayed; 'the the old hall by the court side with a chamber at either end having walls somewhat broken and covered with slates and thatch was decayed'; the little overshot mill had not gone for two years but was not yet decayed; a cowhouse 60 feet long and 16 feet broad had old, broken walls and was decayed; a dove cote with mud walls was 'somewhat in decay'; an oxhouse 50 feet long and 18 feet broad was decayed; a stable and cart house covered with thatch was decayed; another little old stable near it was decayed; the kiln house was decayed and finally a swine cote was decayed.

It looks as though the farm buildings had been left to disintegrate, no farming or very little being carried out by the brethren on the demesne land. The monastic buildings such as the church, vestry and chapter house, the dorter, the prior's room, the kitchen and brewhouse appeared in good condition but there is no mention of a frater. At the dissolution there were only four brethren plus the prior and it could be that they ate in one of the number of small chambers mentioned in the survey. The injunctions issued to monasteries after the visitation of a bishop sometimes dwell on the fact that the frater is not used by the community and insist that it be so occupied.

This small number of men ranging in age from 31 to 68 years was obviously not sufficient to control the farms although the suppression papers list the servants employed in the priory and some of these would help on the estate. There were nine men and two women of whom five were listed as having specific occupations, namely a cook, a brewer, a shepherd, a maid and a dairy wife. One of the men was William Knaggs who was once a brother in the house and who rated a special note in the commissioners' report that he was to have 'a yearly pension or living for his cousin his sake at Beacham'. ²¹

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 stated that the gross annual value was £14 2s 2d and the

^{17.} Testamenta Eboracensia Vol. V, Surtees Society 79 (1884) pp. 110, 300.

^{18.} W. Brown, 'Description of 12 small Yorkshire priories at the Reformation', Y.A.J. IX (1886) pp. 213-15.

^{19.} G. Young, History of Whitby Vol. 1 (Whitby, 1817) p. 434.

^{20.} A. W. Clapham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its architecture. 11 - The architecture', Archaeologia LXXV (1926) p. 204.

^{21.} Miscellanea 111, Y.A.S. Record Series LXXX (1931) pp. 106-14.

clear annual value £12 2s 8d.²² The site was worth 3s 4d, the watermill 5s and the total value of the demesne lands was £1 13s 6d. Rents in Egton and herbage of the woods ralized 51s 2d.²³ At the time of the suppression the priory held lands in Egton, Whitby, Barnby, Iburndale, Ayton, South Burne, York, Doncaster, Scarborough and Sandsend. These would be mainly let out to tenants. The prior and the brethren were compelled to give the sum of 26s 8d in alms for the sake of the founders at the four main feasts of the church. They were also to give to the poor 13s 4d at the principal obits of the founders.

The priory was in debt to the sum of £24 15s but nothing was owed to the house save for that carried away by Ralph and Anne Salvin from Newbiggin Hall, Egton. Apparently about 18 years before 1536 the Salvins had 'borrowed' of Sir John Vaux, late prior, a standing cup of silver parcel gilt with a cover which cost 60s, a flat piece of silver which was worth 40s, a silver salt without a cover which was worth by estimation 20s, six silver spoons which were worth by estimation 14s and a fudder of lead worth £4. Total value being £10 14s.

In the description of the buildings one sees 'a little corrody house with a chamber 24 feet long and 14 feet broad, stone walls covered with thatch'. A lady named Agnes Bukill was in receipt of a corrody at the dissolution. She was to be allowed the following:-

one quarter of wheat yearly	5 <i>s</i>
one quarter of haver (oats) malt yearly	2s 8d
three cows found winter and summer	10 <i>s</i>
one calf found till it be weaned	
three loads of turf yearly	1s 6d
three sledfuls of wood yearly	1s 4d
a house with a chimney yearly	3s 4d
1 22 40 16 11 1 2 40 4	24

The total amounted to 23s 10d from which 3s 10d was deducted as a tithe.²⁴

The priory was dissolved in 1539 and in that year Edmund Wright leased from the Crown the house and site together with certain closes and a mill in Egton for a term of 21 years at the annual rent of £6 5s. In 1543 he applied to purchase the site and bought it in 1544 for £184 13s 2d. The following year he obtained a license to alienate the site of the priory and a water mill in Egton to Sir Richard Cholmley who also purchased 12 messuages, a fulling mill, lands in the forest called Egton Wood and moor called Kympton Rigg and Bursco in Egton and Grosmont.²⁵

There are no remains of the priory above ground and the only illustrations of it are by George Weatherill and appear in 'Some account of the ancient priory of Grosmont' by Henry Belcher, published in 1839. One illustration shows a ruined building having tall chimneys and high gable ends whilst the second one shows the demolished rounded apse of the church. Sir Alfred Clapham produced a reconstituted plan of the priory which was published in *Archaeologia*. ²⁶

A piece of carved wood and two rings have been found on the site and can be seen in Whitby museum.

^{22.} V.C.H. Yorkshire Vol. III (London, 1913), p. 194.

^{23.} Yorkshire monasteries. Suppression papers Y.A.S. Record Series XLVIII (1912) p. 24.

^{24.} Miscellanea III, Y.A.S. Record Series LXXX (1931) pp. 106-14.

^{25.} H. P. Kendall, The Priory of Grosmont in Eskdale (Whitby, 1929) p. 15.

^{26.} A. W. Clapham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its architecture. 11 - The architecture', Archaeologia LXXV (1926) p. 206.



ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, ORMESBY, CLEVELAND. EXCAVATION AND WATCHING BRIEF 1975 and 1976

By M. M. BROWN and D. B. GALLAGHER

Summary Excavation and a watching brief during the reflooring of St. Cuthbert's Church revealed an earlier north wall-line of the church, which was constructed of reused building stones, and a drain-like channel lining the nave. Material employed in blocking an opening in the south wall included an Anglo-Viking cross-head.

Introduction

Ormesby lies on the south side of the River Tees and is one of the regular strip-like parishes, extending from the coast to the line of the low Eston Hills, that are a notable feature of this part of Langbaurgh Wapentake. The parish church, which lies at NZ 53091672, is situated close to Ormesby Hall, the residence of the Pennyman family since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and to the vicarage, but about half a mile to the south of the present and post-medieval core of the village.

The existence of a church in Ormesby is first attested in *Domesday Book*, where, among the details of the tenants and the land, are recorded a priest and a church. It is relatively unusual for these details to be given; of the many places with evidence for pre-conquest churches in Cleveland only four are recorded in 1086. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the land at Ormesby was held by four king's Thegns, and a dispute about the ownership and advowson of the church might account for its inclusion.¹

The name of the village would imply a Scandinavian settlement, although the possibility of the replacement of an earlier Saxon name by new owners must be taken into account; it may be translated as Orm's farm or settlement. The tenant of the vill in 1086 was called Orme, and the settlement might have taken its name from him, although it is more probable that it was so called from an earlier namesake. Additional evidence for the existence of a church on the site in the late Saxon period comes from the discovery during building work in 1875 of several fragments of Anglo-Viking sculpture, including part of a hog-backed gravestone and a section of a cross-shaft, now built into the south wall of the church.

In the early twelfth century Ormesby belonged to a branch of the Percy family who granted the church to Guisborough Priory. There is little evidence for the building history of the church before 1874. Preserved in the church is a capital with spiral volutes, which probably dates from the earlier twelfth century, suggesting at least a partial rebuilding at this time. The two column bases also housed there do not permit a close dating. Most of the other sculptural fragments preserved in the church or built into the exterior south wall are from effigies and grave slabs.

There are no surviving churchwardens' accounts for St. Cuthbert's parish which might have given information on structural changes. In 1650 the chancel was said to be in 'great decay', in 1810 the church was repewed and partly rebuilt. This work of 1810 probably produced the 'high pews, flat ceiling and sash windows' which were deplored in 1875. The exterior of the church was recorded in two photographs, taken in about

^{1.} V.C.H. Yorkshire II, p. 288.

^{2.} A. H. Smith, The Place Names of the North Riding (1928), p. 157.

^{3.} Guisborough Chartulary, Surtees Society 86 (1889), p. 3.

^{4.} Parl. Rec. Surv. xvii, 32 quoted in J. W. Ord, History and Antiquities of Cleveland (London 1864), p. 557.



Plate I. Ormesby church from the north-east pre-1875 (Photo: Pennyman archive).



Plate II. Ormesby Church from the south-west pre-1875 (Photo: Pennyman archive).

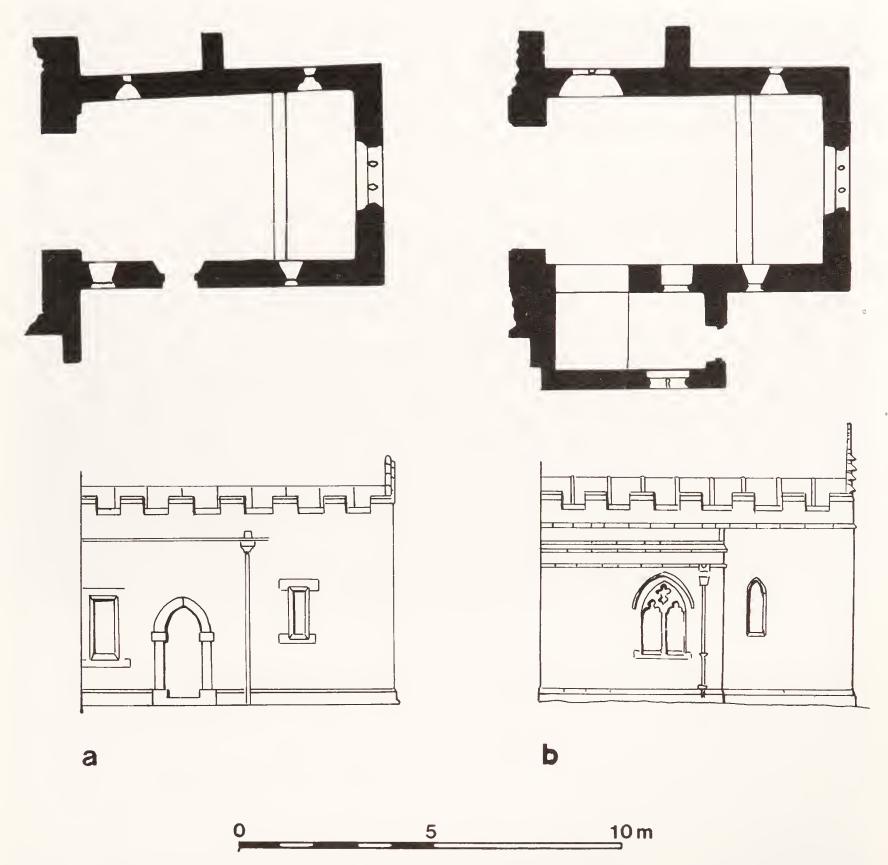


Figure 1. Plan and south elevation of chancel a) 1874 b) c 1880 (after originals in the Church Commissioners' archives).

1874, which give a north and south view of the church (Pls. I, II). While it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions about the dates of various architectural features, the square nature of the stonework visible on the north side is similiar to that of various churches in the area belonging to the twelfth century. The circular head of the chancel window might suggest a similar date, while the lancets in the chancel north wall could indicate a later period, as would those in the north wall of the nave. The masonry of the south wall of the nave appears to be in a different style from that of the north wall, with the possible exception of the area above the easternmost window. The results of the excavation combined with the restorer's comments have led to the conclusion that there was formerly a south aisle at Ormesby. The form of the windows on the south side may date from the 1810 repairs. The south wall of the chancel appears to be of a similar form to the north and east walk (Fig. 1). The presence of the priests' door may be noted.

The rebuilding of the nave was funded by public subscription, instigated by Mr. J. S. Pennyman of Ormesby Hall. This was done without a faculty, but with the consent of



Plate III. Ormesby Church from the north-east post 1875 and prior to the building of the tower and spire in 1907, (Photo: Pennyman archive).



Plate IV. Ormesby Church from the south-west post-1875 (Photo: Pennyman archive).

the Archbishop of York, who inspected the plans. In July 1874 a circular from the vicar, the Rev. Thomas Irwin, announced that the church would be 'thoroughly restored throughout, in accordance with the original date of the building'. The architect chosen was William Searle Hicks, then in the partnership of Austin, Johnson and Hicks of Newcastle, who had an office in Middlesbrough. The contractor was John Johnson of Acklam and the basic contract was for £1,234.

On 20 September 1874 the church was closed and services held in the schoolroom of Ormesby Hall. It was reopened on 7 November 1875. During this time a north aisle had been built and the nave vestry restored. The extent of this restoration can be seen in photographs from the Pennyman family albums (Pls. III, IV).

In his account of Ormesby, Nikolaus Pevsner says that the church was built in 1875 by Hicks and Charlewood (sic). As Pevsner, drawing on the Goodhart Rendel index, is the only architectural historian to have published an account of the church, it is worth stressing here that the work carried out by Hicks preserved a considerable amount of the earlier structure. Only the upper parts of the walls were rebuilt, along with the renewal of the roof and the building of the north aisle. The window openings were given suitably Gothic mouldings and the vestry was left standing embellished only by new windows and a chimney stack.

During 1875 and 1876 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners financed the restoration of the chancel. This was carried out under the supervision of their architect, Mr. Ewan Christian, using the same contractor as before. The final cost amounted to £449 8s. plus £3 3s 3d. for a wire grate to the chancel door and £55 towards the provision of new oak seats. ¹² Architectural elevations and a plan of the chancel, dated October 1874, in the possession of the Church Commissioners, show the details of the chancel before its reconstruction. ¹³ The north and east walls were underpinned and the upper part of the south wall rebuilt. The construction of an enlarged organ chamber about 1880 removed much of the south wall and destroyed the south chancel doorway.

After so much effort it is sad to note that in 1888 the new vicar of Ormesby was complaining of the deterioration of the plaster, suggesting that there was salt in the sand.¹⁴

The last major addition to the church was the tower and spire, which were completed in 1907. The cost being partly defrayed by a bequest from Elizabeth Caroline Brown.

The Excavation

In 1974, after the quinquennial review of the structure of St. Cuthbert's, Ormesby, Cleveland, the church architect advised that several projects were necessary. These included the replacement of the floors of the nave, owing to damp, and of the wooden floor of the vestry due to damp and oil spillage. The whole floor of the nave excluding the

- 5. Diaries of Mr. J. S. Penyman, subsequently referred to as Pennyman Diaries, entry for 26 May 1874.
- 6. From a circular enclosed in a letter from Rev. T. Irvin, Church Commissioners' archives, subsequently referred to as Irvin circular.
- 7. Monograph (no title) on the life and work of William Searle Hicks, privately published by the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1903), subsequently referred to as Hicks Monograph.
- 8. Pennyman diaries, 4 July 1874.
- 9. Irvin circular.
- 10. Pennyman diaries, 7 Nov. 1875; Guisbro' Exchange Weekly, 11 Nov. 1875.
- 11. The partnership is wrongly recorded as Hicks and Charlewood by N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire, The North Riding* (London 1966), p. 276; The partnership of Hicks and Charlewood was not created until 1888.
- 12. Church Commissioners' archives, 1875-7.
- 13. Church Commissioners' archives, letter of 20 Nov. 1874 from E. Christian to T. J. Armstrong giving specifications for external work to chancel.
- 14. Church Commissioners' archive, letter of 26 July 1888 from the vicar of Ormesby to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

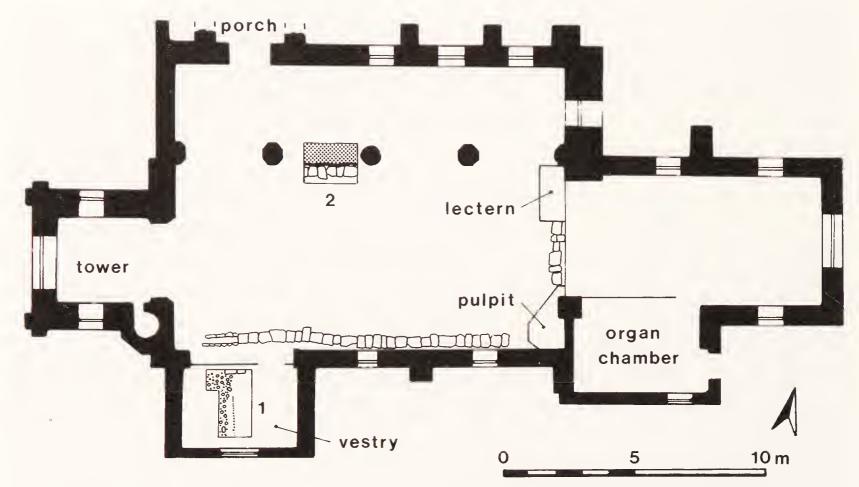


Figure 2. Plan of Ormesby Church showing position of trenches, excavated walls and channel.

area beneath the pulpit and lectern was to be excavated to a depth of nine inches and sand, dolomite, concrete and visqueen (an impermeable material) were to be laid. The proposed alterations were reported to the County Archaeologist by Mrs. Shirley Knight, a member of the Diocesan Advisory Committee. Discussion concerning excavation and a watching brief followed with Mrs. Knight, the vicar, the Reverend M. Wright and the church architect Mr. M. Thornely, and a request for permission to excavate was submitted as part of the application for alterations. This resulted in the County Archaeologist being invited by the Vicar to excavate in two small areas, one in the vestry and another on the line of the north arcade, and to be present when the whole of the floor was removed by the contractors.

Trench 1: The Vestry

This trench was opened in 1975 in the vestry to the south of the nave (Fig. 2). It was intended to section the area where a south doorway had probably existed, the main door now being that to the north. ¹⁵ In 1875, during the partial reconstruction of the church, it was noted that there was a 'large arch separating the nave from the vestry, which apparently stands on the site of an old chantry chapel. '¹⁶ There is no surviving documentary evidence for a chantry at Ormesby. The present arch which opens into the vestry is the nineteenth-century restoration of this arch. It may be a remnant of the arcade which opened into a south aisle. The existence of this aisle is suggested by the two column bases which are housed in the present north aisle. This north aisle was built in 1875; prior to that date there was only a nave, chancel and vestry. It is likely that the column bases belong to a south rather than north aisle, this being more usual in medieval churches. The evidence is strengthened by the mode of construction of a channel by the south wall (see below).

During excavation the wooden floor of the vestry was removed and a layer of mortar

^{15.} V.C.H. Yorkshire II, p. 282 gives an account of a Norman doorway. This is incorrectly taken from J. Graves, History of Cleveland (Carlisle 1808), and should refer to Eston church.

^{16.} Guisbro' Exchange Weekly, 11 Nov. 1875.



Plate V. Trench 2 showing south face of wall and cover slabs of channel with plaster adhering.



Plate VI. Trench 2 showing relationship of wall and channel with cover slabs removed.

and rubble cleared, revealing the southern edge of the south wall of the nave which survived as a foundation course under the present timber screen. Its construction was much less substantial than that of the north wall foundations of the nave (see below: trench 2) and may form part of a later blocking of an opening. Among the foundation masonry was the head of an Anglo-Viking stone cross. Traces of a robbed wall ran south from the line of the nave wall. This had no clear foundation trench and appeared to have been built by merely ramming the foundation into the earth. Underneath the level of the wall foundations which ran north-south and sealed by them was a grave containing in its fill a sherd of possible thirteenth-century pottery. The wall could not be earlier than this sherd as it cut the grave. The grave in its turn had cut through an earlier and very fragmentary wall on the same line as the north-south wall described above.

As they survive these foundations are of very slight construction and are totally unlike the foundations exposed in Trench 2. While they may have supported a chapel or porch, it is possible that they underlay some form of monument inside the church.

Trench 2: The north arcade

A trench was opened in April 1976 in the nave adjacent to the present north aisle (Fig. 2). This aisle was constructed in 1875 when the nave was partially rebuilt.

The aim of the excavation was to section the line of the north wall of the nave, to locate its exact position, and, if possible, establish its date before the destruction of evidence by the relaying of the floor.

The latest level consisted of a nineteenth-century mortar floor. This was laid over a layer of rubble, mortar and worked stone marking the destruction of the north wall in 1875. Finds included eighteenth-century window glass and fragments of moulding in alabaster.

Under this destruction level was a wall running east-west, about one metre thick. It was faced with mortared ashlar blocks and stood two courses high. The core was of substantial blocks of reused stone. These did not constitute a random fill of rubble as each course was carefully levelled with a layer of sand.

The south side of the wall was rebated and this formed one side of a drain-like structure running east and west, parallel with the wall (Plate V). This channel was approximately 0.2m wide and 0.15m deep. Its south side was carefully constructed of reused stones, some with plaster adhering. The top was covered with neatly-tooled flat slabs. It appeared not to have been used for carrying water; the earth floor was flat with no trace of silt (Plate VI). Subsequent observation during the relaying of the nave floor showed that this channel continued, running north and south below the step into the chancel and also alongside the south wall of the nave (Pl. VII). Any evidence of a junction at the south-east corner of the nave had been destroyed by the construction of a pulpit, and at the north-east, by a lectern base. The entire west end of the nave was disturbed by the construction of the tower in 1907 and by central heating chambers. At all points where it was recorded the channel ran on the inside of the nave. Where it ran across the opening of the chancel arch the channel was free-standing on both sides. This was also the case on the south of the nave, suggesting that here it may also have run alongside an opening, as at the chancel arch, possibly against the arcading of a south aisle.

Below and adjacent to the excavated section of the channel was a layer of earth cut by several disturbed burials. These included that of a child and an adult, along with a reburied skull. These burials lay partly below the channel. In this level a sherd of possible tenth to twelfth-century date was found.

Discussion

The general construction of the channel at first suggested a drain. This was discounted because of the total absence of silt, the flat nature of its earth floor and the fact that it ran



Plate VII. Cover slabs of channel inside present south wall.

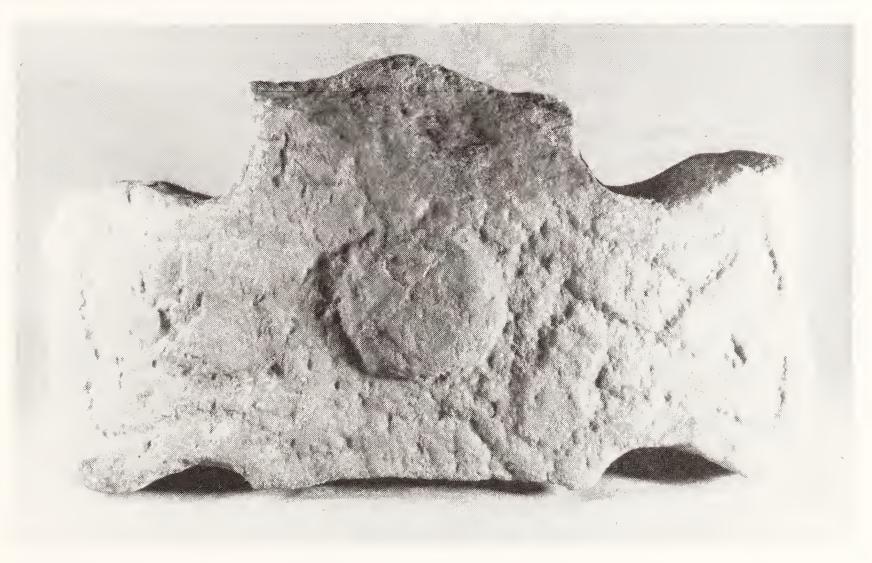


Plate VIII. Anglo-Viking cross-head.



Plate IX. Anglo-Viking cross-head.

inside the building. It may have been intended to serve as a form of damp-proof measure, rather than dealing with water, or it may have been designed to have some acoustic property. Increased resonance was normally attempted by fitting pottery jars into walls, with their mouths opening into the church interior, as at Denford, Northamptonshire. and Upton, Nottingham. Others have been found placed in pits or cavities. These are usually in the chancel, but, in the case of Crail, Fife, one was discovered buried in the floor of the tower. At Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, the acoustic jars were contained in a masonry-lined channel which ran under the stalls on three sides of the choir.

Channels that are designed with a probable acoustic intention are less common. An English parallel with Ormesby is that of Whitefriars, Coventry. ²⁰ Here the channel lay in the same position as that of Fountains Abbey, but there was no trace of any acoustic pots. The channel was about 1.05m wide and about the same in depth internally, much larger than at Ormesby, and of a fourteenth-century date. Another example was found in 1976 in the cathedral of Limburg an der Lahn, West Germany. Here a channel ran through the transept in front of the choir. It lay 0.10m below the stone floor of the church, which predates the present thirteenth-century building. Stone slabs about 0.3m high formed the sides, and it had a flat earth bottom about 0.15m wide. ²¹

Most of the churches mentioned above are of a higher status than the parish church at Ormesby. The appropriation of the church to Guisborough Priory, however, meant that its patrons, at any rate, would have access to a school of masons of high quality.

The stones, which were reused in the construction of the channel and in the wall core, were similar in size and treatment to those on the exterior of the foundation. They suggest the existence of an earlier building which was plastered, probably on the interior, and which may not have been so much earlier in date than the foundation wall uncovered by excavation.

Conclusion

The examination of Ormesby Church has revealed that a simple and apparently unremarkable parish church, attributed to the latter part of the nineteenth century, may preserve a surprising proportion of its medieval form and structure concealed beneath a veneer of Victorian workmanship. It provides a good example of the necessity for archaeological involvement in all church restoration and building works, however minor.

Appendix I

An Anglo-Viking Cross Head from St. Cuthbert's Church, Ormesby

Found during excavations in 1975 reused in the foundations of the present south wall of the church at the vestry opening. It is kept at present in the west end of the church (Pls. VIII, IX).

The fragment is of local sandstone and consists of the two lateral arms and part of the upper arm of a free armed cross. Its maximum dimensions are 0.20m high, 0.42m wide and 0.12m thick. The armpits are curved linking slightly splayed arms. Both faces appear to have similar designs, although much damaged by reuse. This consists of a central undecorated circular boss surrounded by continuous interlace based on 'butterfly knots'. The design is contained by a plain edge moulding. The ends of both existing arms are undecorated.

^{17.} K. Harrison, 'Vitruvius and Acoustic Jars in England During the Middle Ages', *Trans. Anc. Mon. Soc.* 15 (1967-8), p. 52.

^{18.} R. B. K. Stevenson, 'A Medieval Pot under Crail Church Tower', Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 97 (1963-64) p. 252.

^{19.} R. Gilyard-Beer, Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, Department of the Environment Official Guidebook (1970), pp. 29-30.

^{20.} C. Woodfield 'Finds from the Free Grammar School at the Whitefriars, Coventry ε. 1545 - ε. 1557/58, Post-Medieval Archaeology, 15 (1981), pp. 85-6; D. M. Wilson and D. G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1966', Medieval Archaeology 11 (1967), pp. 278-9.

^{21.} The authors are indebted to G. Larrabee of Marburg/Lahn for this information.

Appendix 2 Skeletal Remains from Ormesby Church, 1976 by Dr. D. A. Birkett

1) There are parts of at least two skeletons in this group. As far as can be judged one appears to be male and from the wear on the molar teeth to be in the 45+ age group. The other is younger on tooth wear, probably under 35, but no sex determinants were found in the available bones. The second specimen was about 1.52m - 1.55m (5'-5'1'') in height, estimated from the only intact long bone, a humerus. There are no marked or unusual pathological changes to be seen in the bones. Both sets of teeth show signs

of gross caries with apical abscesses and loss of some teeth.

2) The remains of a young child are rather fragmentary. The vertebral arches are still separate, which suggests an age of two or below. A left humerus survives; it has no epiphyses and estimation of height from long bone measurements in young children is unreliable. However, from this bone it would seem that the child was at least 0.91m (3') tall. This suggests 2-3 years at least. No pathological changes were visible. I am grateful to Mr. G. B. Summersgill, Consultant oral surgeon, for his help with these remains.

Acknowledgements

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THE PERCY TOMB IN BEVERLEY MINSTER

By P. J. P. GOLDBERG

Considerable debate has centered around the dating and purpose of what has traditionally been known as the Percy 'shrine'. It has long been assumed to be the tomb of Lady Eleanor de Percy, d. 1328, but on heraldic grounds it has been argued that it is in fact Lady Idonea de Percy, d. 1365, who is commemorated. Joan Evans, moreover, has suggested that the monument also served as an Easter sepulchre and Lawrence Stone, followed recently by M. R. Petch, sees this as its sole purpose. A fuller consideration of the available evidence can go some way towards the resolution of this debate. The three main issues, viz. the nature of the monument, the person with whom it is associated and its date, will each be considered separately.

The plain ashlar tomb-chest of the monument as it exists today is silent as to its identity and there is no evidence it contains a burial. Until 1825, however, this base supported an actual tomb and burial under a marble slab with the matrix of a monumental brass. The tomb structure was removed as being a later addition alien to the monument. The skeletal remains found within were thought to be 'of a person 12 or 14 years of age', whereas the monument had traditionally been associated with either Lady Eleanor or Lady Idonea de Percy. There is, however, good evidence to suppose that the tomb and burial were in fact contemporary.

The monument has been skilfully joined on to the side of the adjacent stair-turret, but it is not bonded in. The stair-turret was thus complete before work on the tomb commenced. The east side of the tomb is formed by the outer wall of the stair-turret. There are projecting mouldings to add relief to the wall surface below the level of the corbels. Above the level of the corbels, however, the moulding has been cut away leaving only a shallow groove at the side. If the wall below the corbels was obscured by a tomb, as was the case before 1825, this would explain why the mouldings have only been cut away at the higher level. If the tomb were not contemporary with the monument then all the mouldings would surely have been cut away.

The mutilated brass matrix from the tomb is illustrated in Gough. Both the trefoil-headed canopy and the arrangement of the 14 shields around the sides of the slab suggest that the original brass was of relatively early date, and certainly need not have post-dated the monument. The skeletal evidence is hardly convincing given the smaller average height of medieval man and the probability that the noble lady commemorated married at a relatively youthful age.

There is little reason to think that the tomb structure need have appeared incongruous. The floor of the church on the south side is raised up to support the high altar. The surface of the tomb-chest as it now appears is thus only a few inches off the ground. An

^{1.} J. Evans, English Art 1307-1401 (Oxford, 1949) p. 171; L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1972) p. 171; M. R. Petch, 'William de Malton Master Mason', Y.A.J. 53 (1981) p. 41, subsequently referred to as Evans, 1949, Stone, 1972 and Petch, 1981.

^{2.} G. Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley* (Beverley, 1829) p. 333 and note 64 citing a communication by Dr. Hull, who examined the tomb at the time of its renewal.

^{3. (}Corbel 1) and (Corbel 2). These stand upon a ledge attached to the sides of the canopy columns.

^{4.} The monument as it appeared before 1825 is illustrated in R. Gough, Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain II part III (London, 1796) Plate CX, hereafter referred to as Gough, 1796.

^{5.} Ibid. Plate CXI.

^{6.} The use of a monumental brass rather than an effigy of stone under a canopied tomb is not unusual. The tomb of Archbishop Greenfield in York Minster is an important example.

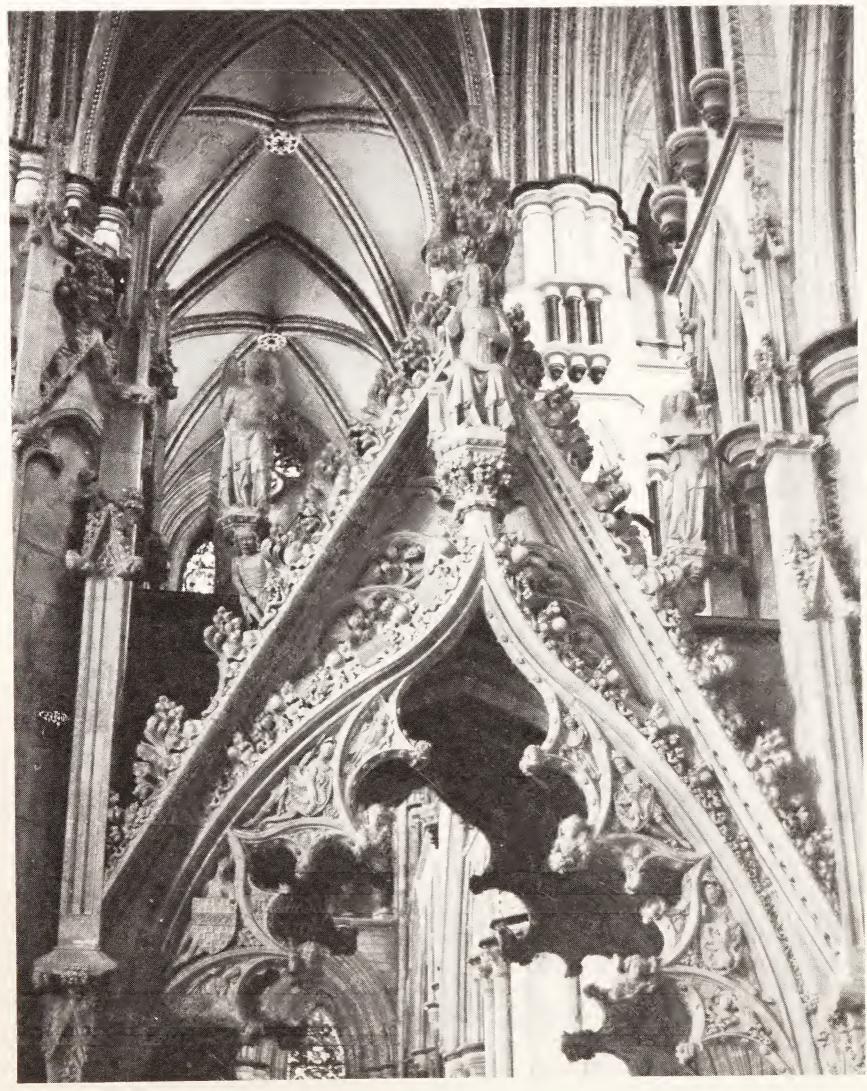


Plate 1. The north face of the canopy of the Percy tomb seen from the north-east transept.

Photo. T. A. Challis

additional stage would not have appeared out of place. The same pattern is repeated at Westminster with the tomb of Edmund Crouchback. The buttresses are plain up to the level of the corbels, which is marked by a band of moulding. This design is found on the north side, save that there is here an additional lower stage of buttressing reaching from the lower floor level to the top of the present tomb base. Such an arrangement would make sense were there an extra stage to the lower structure. The height of the arch above the tomb would also be more in keeping with the proportions of the Westminster monuments.⁷

This interpretation serves to undermine the theory that the structure served as an Easter sepulchre. Evans argues that the monument was erected in the life-time of Lady Idonea to serve as an Easter sepulchre until such time as it should serve as her tomb. She relates this double usage to the precedent of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell's tomb at Irnham, Lincolnshire and, on the evidence of Dugdale, the Easter sepulchre at Lincoln. To relate the richly carved monument with its free use of the ogee and foliate crockets and finials to the work of the early fouteenth-century Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire school of masons seems not unreasonable. But though this school is associated with a series of fine Easter sepulchres, and though Passion subjects feature prominently in the iconography of the monument, there seems little positive evidence to show that the monument did indeed serve as an Easter sepulchre. The Passion iconography of the Easter sepulchre stresses the Resurrection, that of the Percy Tomb the Last Judgement. The Percy monument also differs in design from the Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire series of Easter sepulchres. Thus, although the monument may, from its position north of the high altar, have supported a temporary wooden structure,9 there is little reason to believe that it was primarily designed as anything other than a tomb.

Only one definite piece of evidence for the dating of the Percy 'shrine' is contained within the monument itself. The appearance of the royal arms of England quartered with France ancient in the canopy (Fig. 7) indicates that it could not have been completed before 1340^{9a} . The armour worn by the canopy knights can, however, be compared with the Hastings brass at Elsing, Norfolk dated to c 1347-8. The use of partial plate armour over mail, and of the shortened surcoat or 'cyclas' is also found on a brass of Sir John de Creke and his wife at Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire of c 1325. This last differs in that no visor is worn with the helm, but there is no reason to suspect that the Percy monument knights need be very far removed in time, and certainly need be no later than c 1340. It is difficult to generate a very precise date on stylistic grounds, but a date not much after c 1340 seems preferable, and it can hardly post-date the decease of Lady Idonea in 1365. It is likely, however, that so elaborate a monument took several years to complete.

The building of the Percy tomb must be seen in the context of the construction of the adjacent altar-screen. Bilson has argued convincingly that the monument must follow the completion of the screen. He cited Archbishop Melton's register as evidence that the screen was under construction in 1334, but the octagonal stair-turret of the screen fits so well stylistically and visually with the tomb that the one must follow the other more or less immediately. This would suggest that the tomb was planned sometime before work on it commenced. Although Lady Eleanor died in 1328, only in 1336 did her executors

^{7.} Lady Eleanor de Percy died in 1328. If this is her monument she was presumably buried elsewhere first and only subsequently translated to Beverley. This may help explain some of Dr. Hull's objections.

^{8.} Evans, 1949 pp. 171-2.

^{9.} Ibid. p. 170.

⁹a. Fig. etc refers to the Architectural Appendix.

^{10.} Stone, 1972 pp. 164-5; H. W. Macklin, The Brasses of England (London, 1907) pp. 23-4.

^{11.} J. Bilson, 'Beverley Minster: Some Stray Notes', Y.A.J. 24 (1917) p. 221 and notes 2 and 6.

arrange for an obit to be performed for her at Beverley. ¹² If the monument is indeed the tomb of Lady Eleanor, then it may be possible to tie its construction to the foundation of the obit. The available evidence would thus suggest that the Percy monument was not begun before ϵ 1336 and not completed before 1340. ¹³

The main evidence for the identification of the person with whom the monument is associated lies in its heraldry. The shields supported by the seven knights and lady portrayed in the canopy (Figs. 1-8) have lost most of their colouring and so cannot now be certainly identified. Earlier writers have, however, left their own observations of surviving colours and from these it is possible to attempt an identification of the arms.¹⁴

Three shields can be identified without difficulty, viz.

(Fig. 1) Clifford - checky, or and azure, a fess gules.

(Fig. 6) Warrene - checky, or and azure.

(Fig. 7) The royal arms after 1340 - quarterly of four, 1 & 4, azure, semé-de-lis or, 2 & 3,

gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or.

The shield held by the lady (Fig. 5) represents a chief on a plain field. Oliver blazoned this as 'sable, a chief azure', although such arms are not possible. Torre saw silver rather than black and it is possible that Oliver's 'sable' represents the oxidised silver still visible in Torre's time. The most plausible identification of the arms argent, a chief azure is with the lordship of Clun.

The remaining shields all bear a lion rampant. For (Fig. 2) and (Fig. 8) Torre records 'purple, a golden lion rampant'. Oliver similarly notes 'gules, a lion rampant or' for (Fig. 8). It is quite likely that Torre's 'purple' is not purpure, but rather represents gules discoloured by time. If this is so, then the arms at (Fig. 8) and possibly (Fig. 2) represents

Fitz Alan modern.

Oliver identified all the lions rampant on the north side as the arms of Percy modern, i.e. or, a lion rampant azure, but he seems to have been reading his identification of the monument as a Percy tomb into his observation of the heraldry. Torre identified (Fig. 3) as 'silver, a blue lion rampant', and (Fig. 4) as 'blue, a silver lion rampant'. Argent, a lion rampant azure can be identified with Fauconberge, but no obvious identification can be suggested for azure, a lion rampant argent. Longstaffe suggested that (Fig. 3) may have originally represented Percy 'the gold having disappeared'. Certainly Torre cannot be regarded as an infallible source, especially given the lapse of time between the painting of the monument and his observations. There must remain a very real possibility that (Fig. 3) or more particularly (Fig. 4) represented originally the arms of Percy modern.

It is unfortunate that the Percy arms cannot definitely be identified as most of the remaining heraldry can be related to the house of Percy in the first half of the fourteenth century. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the arms supported by the lady (Fig. 5) refer to the person to whom the monument is a memorial. Certainly the position occupied is one of importance. The lordship of Clun in Shropshire was acquired by the Fitz Alan family and subsequently united with the lordship of Oswestry and the earldom of Arundel. ¹⁹ It is unclear precisely why this lady should bear Clun, sometimes known as

^{12.} M. T. Martin (Ed.), The Percy Chartulary, Surtees Society CXVII (1909) pp. 179-80.

^{13.} C. Hiatt, Beverley Minster (London, 1898) p. 93 suggests a possible date of 1336-40, but does not give

^{14.} The references follow those given in the Architectural Appendix where the shields are described without colour.

^{15.} G. Oliver, The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley (Beverley, 1829) p. 336.

^{16.} Cited in W. H. D. Longstaffe, 'The Old Heraldry of the Percys', Archaeologia Aeliana n.s. IV (1860) p. 169, subsequently referred to as Longstaffe, 1860.

^{17.} Ibid. p. 170.

^{18.} Ibid. p. 170.

^{19.} G. E. C., The Complete Peerage III (London, 1913) p. 335. The Fitz Alans do not appear to have been styled earl before 1298.

Fitz Alan ancient, but she must nevertheless be a lady of the house of Fitz Alan, and the most likely identification would be Lady Eleanor or Alionor, sister to Sir Richard de Arundel and wife to Henry, lord Percy d. 1314. Following her husband's death she was granted extensive dower lands in Yorkshire and also had custody of her son's Yorkshire lands until his majority in 1320. She was thus a powerful lady in her own right, for whom such a monument would not be unfitting.

The arms of Clifford (Fig. 1) probably refer to Lady Eleanor's daughter-in-law, Lady Idonea. She was the daughter of Robert, lord Clifford and married Henry, the second baron Percy of Alnwick, d. 1353. The lady Idonea herself died in 1365. The arms of Warrene (Fig. 6) may likewise be identified with Eleanor, daughter of John, earl of Warrene and Lady Eleanor Fitz Alan's mother-in-law. She married Henry de Percy, the first of that name, who died in 1272, and survived herself until at least 1285. 22

The appearance of the Fitz Alan arms, (Fig. 8) and possibly (Fig. 2), seems to confirm the relation of the monument with the house of Fitz Alan and Lady Eleanor in particular. The royal arms (Fig. 7) probably are included out of respect.

The heraldic evidence, despite some persisting problems of identification, seems strongly to uphold the traditional view that it is Lady Eleanor Fitz Alan, wife of Henry, lord Percy d. 1314, who is here commemorated. Since the monument was presumably erected by her son after her death there can be no surprise that his alliance to the house of Clifford, in the person of Lady Idonea, is recorded (Fig. 1). The appearance of these arms, which are supported by a knight and not a lady, cannot be regarded as evidence that the monument commemorates or is in any way associated with the lady Idonea de Clifford.

The form of the Percy tomb with its elaborate canopy derives ultimately from the model of the Westminster tomb of Edmund Crouchback, d. 1296. ²³ Here, because of the wide space between the piers which the monument occupies, there are narrow crocketed and pinnacled gables on either side of the main gable. This pattern is repeated in the tomb of Bishop de Luda, d. 1298, at Ely, but the side gables are abandoned with the construction of the narrower monument to Aymer de Valence, d. 1324, in Westminster, a companion to the Crouchback monument. ²⁴ Here already are to be found a number of features repeated in the Percy monument: the foliage is largely bubble-leaf, the crockets disguise the hard line of the gable and there are rosettes carved along the soffits. ²⁵

The tomb of Archbishop Greenfield, d. 1315, at York is an important local variant of the Westminster model. Here there is a transverse roof structure with end gables running into the roof of the main side gables. ²⁶ It is a development of this more complex roof structure that is adopted at Beverley. The Percy monument has also been related to a group of local tombs presumed to be the work of the same mason or group of masons. These have a number of features in common, particularly the use of the ogee, but it is difficult to establish any precise chronology and it may well be that the Percy tomb in fact served as the model.

The ogee is first found in England in the Eleanor crosses. It spread to all regions from

^{20.} G. E. C., The Complete Peerage X (London, 1945) pp. 458-9.

^{21.} C. Moor (Ed.), Knights of Edward I IV, Harleian Society LXXXIII (1931) pp. 41-2.

^{22.} G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage* X (London, 1945) pp. 456 and 461-2.

^{23.} N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: London I: The Cities of London and Westminster (Harmondsworth, 1962) p. 390, hereafter referred to as Pevsner, London I.

^{24.} The single gable design is found earlier in the monument to Aveline, countess of Lancaster, d. 1272. Evans, 1949 p. 163; Pevsner, *London I* pp. 390-1.

^{25.} Stone, 1972 p. 159.

^{26.} J. H. Harvey, 'Architectural History from 1291 to 1558', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Eds.), A History of York Minster (Oxford, 1977) pp. 177-8 and Plate 72.

the turn of the century.²⁷ Its first appearance in Yorkshire was perhaps at Howden.²⁸ It established itself particularly in this northern region and the more advanced form of the nodding ogee is found in the west front of York Minster and also on the shrine of St. William. The tomb of Aymer de Valence uses ogival forms for the cusping and subcusping of the canopy arch and is thus an important development on the Crouchback model. The arch itself remains, however, conventionally pointed.²⁹

The inspiration for the nodding ogee canopy arch of the Percy tomb is perhaps found in the work of the Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire school of masons. The early fourteenth-century Lincoln Minster pulpitum is made up of a series of ogee arches, cusped and sub-cusped with crockets and finials. This model is developed in the Southwell pulpitum of *c* 1320–30. Here the central arch of the pulpitum stands under a steeply pitched crocketed gable strikingly similar in design to the Percy monument canopy. There is even statuary on either side of the gable and at the apex of the arch. By the same school of masons is the sculpture of the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral where the main architectural feature is the nodding ogee. The Ely work has another feature in common with the Beverley tomb. In the mouchettes of the spandrels above the door to the Lady Chapel in the north choir aisle are censing angels which correspond to the censing angels in the gable mouchettes of the Percy 'shrine'.

The sculpture of the Percy monument is unusually rich. The extensive use of crockets, pinnacles and finials is closely similar to the work of the Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire school of masons. The figure sculpture is marked by ample, flowing drapery and the narrownes of the shoulders, and this has been related to a York school of masons. Stone also sees the deeply undercut figure carving and the ogee cusping as peculiarly Yorkshire features.³³ Attention has been drawn also to the distinctive gouged irises of the eyes, a

feature found some half century earlier in the York chapter house carvings.

A line of development from the Westminster tombs may thus be traced. The influence of what has here been referred to as a Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire school of masons is manifest, and work produced or influenced by this school is not uncommon in the lowland regions of Yorkshire. In this context may be cited the sedilia at Halsham and Ripon, with their nodding ogees and plentiful crocketing. The figure carving belongs, however, to a more purely Yorkshire tradition and the verve of the grotesques, the device of the lion and dragon corbel (*Corbel 1*) and the almost unparalleled quality of the sculpture point to this being a product of local masons of the first order. The influence of what has been product of local masons of the first order.

The work of this local group of masons has been noted by F. H. Crossley and is the subject of a recent article by M. R. Petch. ³⁶ Three tombs in particular show close stylistic similarity. These are of William de St. Quintin, d. 1349, at Harpham, Sir Edmund de Mauley, d. 1314, at Bainton and an unknown priest at Welwick, all in the East Riding. ³⁷ There is reason to believe that the Bainton and Welwick monuments are nearly contemporary with the Percy 'shrine'. Bainton church was rebuilt in the 1330s or 40s and

^{27.} J. Bony, The English Decorated Style (Oxford, 1979) pp. 22 and 28.

^{28.} Ibid. p. 28; Pevsner, Yorkshire: York and the East Riding (Harmondsworth, 1972) p. 260, subsequently referred to as Pevsner, Yorks., E. R.

^{29.} Stone, 1972 p. 149; C. Wilson, The Shrines of St. William of York (York, 1977) pp. 13 and 16; Pevsner, London I p. 391.

^{30.} Pevsner and J. Harris, Lincolnshire (Harmondsworth, 1964) p. 120.

^{31.} Pevsner, Nottinghamshire (Harmondsworth, 1951) pp. 169-70.

^{32.} N. Coldstream, 'Ely Cathedral: The Fourteenth Century Work', in N. Coldstream and P. Draper (Eds.), Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral British Archaeological Association (1979) pp. 30 and 39.

^{33.} Stone, 1972 pp. 171-2.

^{34.} Pevsner, Yorks., E. R. p. 240; Pevsner, Yorkshire: The West Riding (Harmondsworth, 1967) p. 407.

^{35.} A. Gardiner, A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture (Cambridge, 1937) pp. 202 and 209-11.

^{36.} F. H. Crossley, English Church Craftsmanship (London, 1947) p. 44; Petch, 1981 pp. 37-44.

^{37.} Pevsner, Yorks., E. R. pp. 165, 241 and 365.

the de Mauley monument is thought to date to that time. Both the canopy design and the representation of God receiving the soul of the deceased have led Sir Nikolaus Pevsner to argue that the Bainton monument must have followed the Percy tomb 'immediately'.³⁸

The Welwick monument differs in design, but shows many stylistic similarities. The tomb has not been identified for dating purposes, but there appear to be only two likely candidates. In suggesting William de la Mare, provost of Beverley 1338-60 and who was dead by 1366, Pevsner seems only to be following Bilson. But Bilson worked on the basis that the monument was inspired by the Percy tomb and consequently could not be earlier than c 1350. A more likely candidate is perhaps William of Beverley, rector of Welwick 1317-27 and still alive in 1335. If he died soon after this last date the monument would be roughly contemporary with the Percy tomb. The monument is badly damaged, but one of the most striking features is the elaborate nichework of the superstructure in which are carved numerous swooping angels like those found in the spandrels of the Beverley monument. Other notable features are the extensive use of the ogee and, as on the Percy tomb, the three tier foliate finials. Above the tomb on the wall is carved the Arma Christi reflecting the Passion iconography of the Beverley monument.

Where masons' marks have been discovered, it is possible to attribute the work of the Beverley masons to named individuals. One is William de Malton, master mason at Beverley from 1335 and who probably died around the time of the Black Death, whose mark is found extensively in the north nave aisle at Beverley and also at Bainton and in York Minster. He may have been responsible for some at least of the remarkable series of minstrels in the north nave aisle. There is a similar minstrel in the south nave aisle of York Minster and also on the Beverley reredos. The mark of another mason likewise associated with the north nave aisle minstrels is found again on the ashlar base of the Percy tomb. The mark, which represents a mill-rind, may have been used as an allusive device by the mason bearing the toponym of 'Myllyngton', whose autograph is scratched in the north nave aisle wall. The north nave aisle carvings and the sculpture of the altar reredos with its elaborate foliage and wealth of detail are stylistically very similar to the carving on the Percy monument. A case may consequently be made for the Percy tomb being the work of, among others, a mason called Myllyngton under the direction of William de Malton, his master mason.

ARCHITECTURAL APPENDIX

The tomb is located under the arch of the north east transept of Beverley Minster. It stands between the transept pier on the west and the octagonal stair-turret leading to the top of the altar reredos on the east. The plain ashlar tomb-chest is placed below a vaulted canopy supported between extended angle buttresses with multiple pinnacles. The buttresses are staged with gabled offsets, the gables crocketed with a finial at the apex and carved heads in the angles. On the faces of the buttresses beneath the gables is blank curvilinear tracery of two lights. The canopy arch⁴⁴ north and south is a high nodding ogee set between a steeply pitched crocketed gable.⁴⁵ The ogee is also crocketed and ousped and sub-cusped. There are two main cusps on either side of the ogee. Each primary cusp is itself cusped. The sides of the main cusps are ribbed. The ribs are

^{38.} Ibid. p. 165; Evans, 1949 p. 166. Evans prints Barnton for Bainton; Petch, 1981 p. 44.

^{39.} Pevsner, Yorks., E. R. p. 365; J. Bilson, 'St. Mary's Church Welwick', Y.A.J. 20 (1909) p. 140.

^{40. (}Fig. xi) and (Fig. xiv).

^{41.} Petch, 1981 p. 37.

^{42.} Ibid. pp. 37, 40-1 and note 16.

^{43.} The use of gouged irises is particularly noteworthy. Ibid. pp. 39-40; Stone, 1972 p. 171.

^{44.} The foliate capitals of the supporting columns are damaged.

^{45.} One of the lower crockets on the east side of the north face is missing.

moulded and form an ogee between the main cuspings on each side of the main arch. The cuspings are thus not of regular shape. The central spandrels of the sub-cuspings on the east and west sides are considerably smaller than those above and below. At the cusp ends there are angels, some playing musical instruments. The angels of the sub-cusps are small and have few distinguishing features. Those of the primary cusps are larger and more varied. The cusp ends of these cusps have on the north side from east to west:

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(Angel i) angel and, to the east, the head of a dragon (?);
(Angel ii) angel with lute;
(Angel iii) angel with viol-shaped fiddle;
(Angel iv) angel holding scroll.
On the south side from west to east appear:
(Angel v) angel, arms broken, wearing a mitre;
(Angel vi) angel with portrative organ;
(Angel vii) angel with harp;
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(Angel viii) angel, arms broken below the elbow.

The angels face outwards and adopt a variety of poses, some swooping, others as if squatting. The reverse of the large angels, as they appear on the inner faces, are carved to represent cloud, those of the smaller to represent roses.

The spandrels of the cuspings are carved both within and without. The soffits of the arch are chamfered and studded with rosettes at regular intervals along the chamfers. The eight spandrels of the major cuspings contain on their outer faces relief carvings of armed knights and a lady, each supporting a shield of arms. On the north side appear from east to west:

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(Fig. 1) knight bearing checky, a fess;
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(Fig. 2) knight, armed with a spear, bearing a lion rampant;

(Fig. 3) knight bearing a lion rampant. His head appears to be slightly damaged.

(Fig. 4) knight, his right elbow resting on his shield and one finger of his right hand raised as if pointing. Bears a lion rampant. The features of this figure are particularly fine.

On the south side likewise appear from west to east:

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(Fig. 5) lady bearing a chief; (Fig. 6) knight bearing checky;
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(Fig. 7) knight bearing quarterly, 1 & 4, semé-de-lis, 2 & 3, three lions passant guardant in pale;

(Fig. 8) knight bearing a lion rampant.

The knights are all represented in full armour with visors raised. The shields are generally ornamented with flowered diaper patterns, though the lion rampant on the south side (Fig. 8) is on a plain shield. The checky shield (Fig. 6) has alternate squares raised above the surface of the shield, but the squares are plain. The heraldic charges are deeply undercut. The mail of the chain armour is conventionally represented save on the figure that can be identified with Clifford (Fig. 1). Here the mail is composed of interlacing annulets. Longstaffe suggests that these represent the Vipont annulets used as a Clifford badge.⁴⁷

The reverse faces of the spandrels of the cuspings mostly represent angels, those on the north ascending, those on the south descending. The reverse of the lower main cusping spandrels on the east side, however, are treated differently. That on the north (Fig. 9) represents the Nativity. On the south (Fig. 10) is St. Catherine identified by her symbol of the wheel.

In the spandrels of the sub-cusps are a variety of subjects, although heads and angels predominate in the smaller spandrels. The subjects on the north side appear from west to east:

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(Fig. i) angel holding scroll;(Fig. ii) bearded head;(Fig. iii) bearded head with drapery arrangement above;
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^{46.} G. and M. McPeek, A Guide to the Carvings of Medieval Minstels in Beverley Minster (Beverley, n.d.) p. 7.

^{47.} Longstaffe, 1860 p. 170.

(Fig. iv) seraphim with three pairs of wings standing on a wheel with curving spokes, his right hand raised and a twisted scroll in the left;

(Fig. v) angel holding a scroll across his body, his left hand slightly raised;

(Fig. vi) bearded head;

(Fig. vii) male head;

(Fig. viii) winged bust of angel with hands held in front grasping a large leaf.

On the south side appear from west to east:

(Fig. ix) St. Michael slaying the dragon. His cross-staff and arms are damaged. The visible wing of the dragon covers part of the lower half of the angel;

(Fig. x) winged bust of angel with arms extended;

(Fig. xi) winged bust of angel with hands together as if swooping earthwards;

(Fig. xii) figure of the Virgin crowned and seated, her hands together. Censing angels to the east and below to the west;

(Fig. xiii) seated figure of Christ, crowned and his left hand raised in benediction. Censing angels to the west and below to the east;

(Fig. xiv) swooping angel;⁴⁸

(Fig. xv) bearded head with arms extended left and right in benediction;

(Fig. xvi) the Annunciation. The angel of the Annunciation crouches, his right hand pointing at a scroll in his left. The Virgin has her right hand raised. Her hair is loose and flowing. A lily-pot stands between. A dove descends above the Virgin's head.

The canopy vault is of a simple lierne type with five bosses along the transverse ridge rib. The bosses contain angels, some with musical instruments. The easternmost represents two angels supporting a crown (Boss 1). The ribs are ornamented with rosettes and an elaborate type of ball flower. Similar ornament occurs in the mouldings of the gable.

Below the vault on both east and west walls are pairs of corbels originally intended to carry images. The eastern pair represent, on the north side (Corbel 1), a lion and dragon in combat, and, on the south side (Corbel 2), a representation probably to be interpreted as the soldiers casting lots for Christ's robe. Two figures stand on the left, that on the far left crouches, his head missing, but both figures are damaged. In the centre is a man crouching over a cloth or robe apparently throwing dice. The robe seems to have an opening at the upper end. The head of the man is damaged. A man kneeling on the right holds the end of the robe. This figure is also damaged and is missing his right arm. ⁴⁹

Of the western pair the corbel on the south side is now missing. The corbel on the north side is damaged (Corbel 3). On the left of the corbel is a crouching man, his arms and head are missing. On the right is a bird as if in flight towards the man. The corbel may have been intended to represent Elijah fed by a raven.

Between the arch and the gable is blank tracery of mouchettes. There are censing angels in the two lower mouchettes both east and west. The apex of the arch forms a foliate bracket. These brackets support on the north side a large seated figure of Christ wearing the Crown of Thorns (*Christ 1*). His right arm is broken from the elbow. His left hand holds back his garment across the chest and indicates the wound in his side. His hand is pierced. ⁵⁰ On the south side is a large figure of Christ also wearing the Crown of

^{48.} C.f. (Fig. xi) in equivalent spandrel opposite.

^{49.} The boss immediately above, depicting a pair of angels holding a crown (Boss 1), suggests the Coronation as a likely subject for the image originally supported by this pair of corbels. In such an arrangement the figure of the Virgin would rest on the lion and dragon corbel. The restored figure of the Virgin outside the chapter house of York Minster stands on a combatant lion and dragon of very similar design. The Virgin is likewise represented resting her feet on a passive lion and dragon in the de Lisle psalter (Arundel MS. 86, f. 131 b).

^{50.} This representation of Christ as the Image of Pity is quite common. One of the finest examples is found on the now over-restored south porch tympanum of Lincoln dating to c 1260-5. (Stone, 1972 p. 131). The device is also found on the south gable face of Bishop de Luda's tomb in Ely. This represents a significant modification of the Crouchback model where a mounted military figure occupies the equivalent position. It seems appropriate that the iconography should be re-adopted for the tomb of a lady. A local example is found above the gatehouse gable of Kirkham Priory. (Pevsner, *Yorks.*, E. R. p. 300).

Thorns seated between two small angels standing on the bench (Christ 2). He holds his right hand in benediction over the head of a small naked female figure, representing the soul of the deceased lady, whilst his left hand gently clasps her arms below the elbow. She is supported in a napkin held by the standing angels and is represented in an attitude of

prayer.

The canopy roof extends between the main gables north and south and also over end gables, east and west, the ridge joining the main roof on a level with the ogee apex. The roof is scaled. Leaning out from the roof some half way up on either side the main gable are crouching grotesque figure brackets. These brackets support angels. On the north side the angels probably carried instruments of the Passion, but that on the east has both arms broken from the elbow (Angel 1). The angel to the west (Angel 2) holds the three nails in his raised left hand. His right hand is held across his chest and clasps a cross by the main shaft just below the cross bar. The right hand is slightly damaged and the main body of the vertical shaft of the cross is missing from below the hand. The angels on the south side are both damaged so that the original function is no longer clear. That to the west (Angel 3) has his left arm folded across his chest and holds his hand as if gripping something. His right arm is raised and crosses the left at the wrist. The hand is damaged and partly missing. The angel to the east (Angel 4) has his left arm folded across his chest, but it is broken from the wrist. The right arm is held upright and the hand is clasped horizontally as if holding some object.

The foliage on the north side is hawthorn, on the south vine. The leaves are post-naturalistic and are remarkable for their exaggerated features. The hawthorn leaves are elongated and undulating and the vine is bubble leaf at its most advanced. More foliage fills part of the spandrels of the main cuspings between the shield and the cusp end. Hig. 8) has oak, but the equivalent space in (Fig. 2) and (Fig. 3) has a single rose flower.

^{51.} This is a development on the Crouchback model where the brackets originally supported angels holding candles. (Evans, 1949 p. 162).

^{52.} The angel with the cross shaft complete is illustrated in Gough, 1796 Plate CX.

^{53.} C.f. the foliate leaves of the altar reredos.

^{54.} Except (Fig. 5) which is filled by the drapery of the lady's dress.

THE OLD VICARAGE CHURCH FENTON

By Barbara Hutton

Church Fenton is a Prebend of York Minster, and the Old Vicarage was built to house a Vicar who would perform the Prebendary Canon's parish duties for a stipend. The Prebendary had a residence in York, and perhaps also his own house in Fenton but if so, this was not it. The earliest document so far found that describes the vicarage is a cause paper of the mid 16th century in the Borthwick Institute, listing the 'ruynes and dikayes' of the parsonage at Fenton. This includes three items only:

Fyrste for settynge up chambres and lodgyng that be cleane taken awaye in Mr

Howghtons tyme wythe the botrey & pantrie . . . £40

Item for makyng up the stable . . . £6-13s-4d

Items for repayring the hall and other howses yet remayning and sore dekayed . . . £6-13s-4d

'Chambers and lodgings with the buttery and pantry' suggests a solar/service end or cross-wing which had to be completely rebuilt.

The Glebe Terriers start in 1716 and continue until 1861. They describe the building in most useful ways:

1716

The House and barn and stable in length twenty three yards and a half. The west end in bredth eleven yards and a foot. The east end in bredth six yards and a foot.

1764

A vicarage house built part with stone, part with brick and part with post and pann, covered part with tile, part with slate and part with thatch. It contains three low rooms and a milkhouse and cellar; they are all floored with brick. There are four chambers floored with deal, three of which are underdrawn, that over ye kitchen is not underdrawn. None of ye rooms are waistcotted, ceild or paperd. There is a stable under ye same roof built with ye same materials as ye house and covered with thatch. The Glebe is as follows: A garden and orchard bounded on ye East by Mr Gill's Preston Garth, on ye West by Thos Battersby's Orchard, on ye North by ye road, on ye South by Thomas Battersby's Croft.

The same description is repeated word for word in all the following terriers (including one at the Minster Library) up to and including that of 1825.

1849

The vicarage house is built part of stone, part of brick and part of post and pan, and recently covered with tile. The barn adjoining it is built of the same materials as the house and also covered with tile. The house is now converted into three cottages, which together with the gardens adjoining contain by admeasurement one rood and thirty seven perches, which said premises are bounded on the north by the public highway, on the east by Revd. Henry Bull MA, and Revd. James Matthews MA, and on the south and west by William Bewley Taylor Esquire. Also, etc.

1861

The Vicarage is a very ancient building and not having been occupied as such for upwards of a century has been for many years let as cottages and is both unfit and unsuitable for the residence of a vicar.

In 1864 Mr Isaacson became vicar; and as he declined to live in the old vicarage a new one was built for him in 1866. Sometime after this the Church Commissioners must have sold it, and in 1920 it was bought by Mr Metcalf as three tenanted cottages. By about 1923 he was able to convert it into a single dwelling and it was used as his house and the post office. His daughter lived in it after him for the rest of her life, and in 1981 it came into the possession of Mr Ken Deighton, the present owner. (Plates 1 and 2). It was in a very poor structural condition and the roof of the barn at the eastern end of the building



Plate 1. The Old Vicarage, Church Fenton, in 1981, north side.



Plate 2. The Old Vicarage, Church Fenton, in 1981, south side.

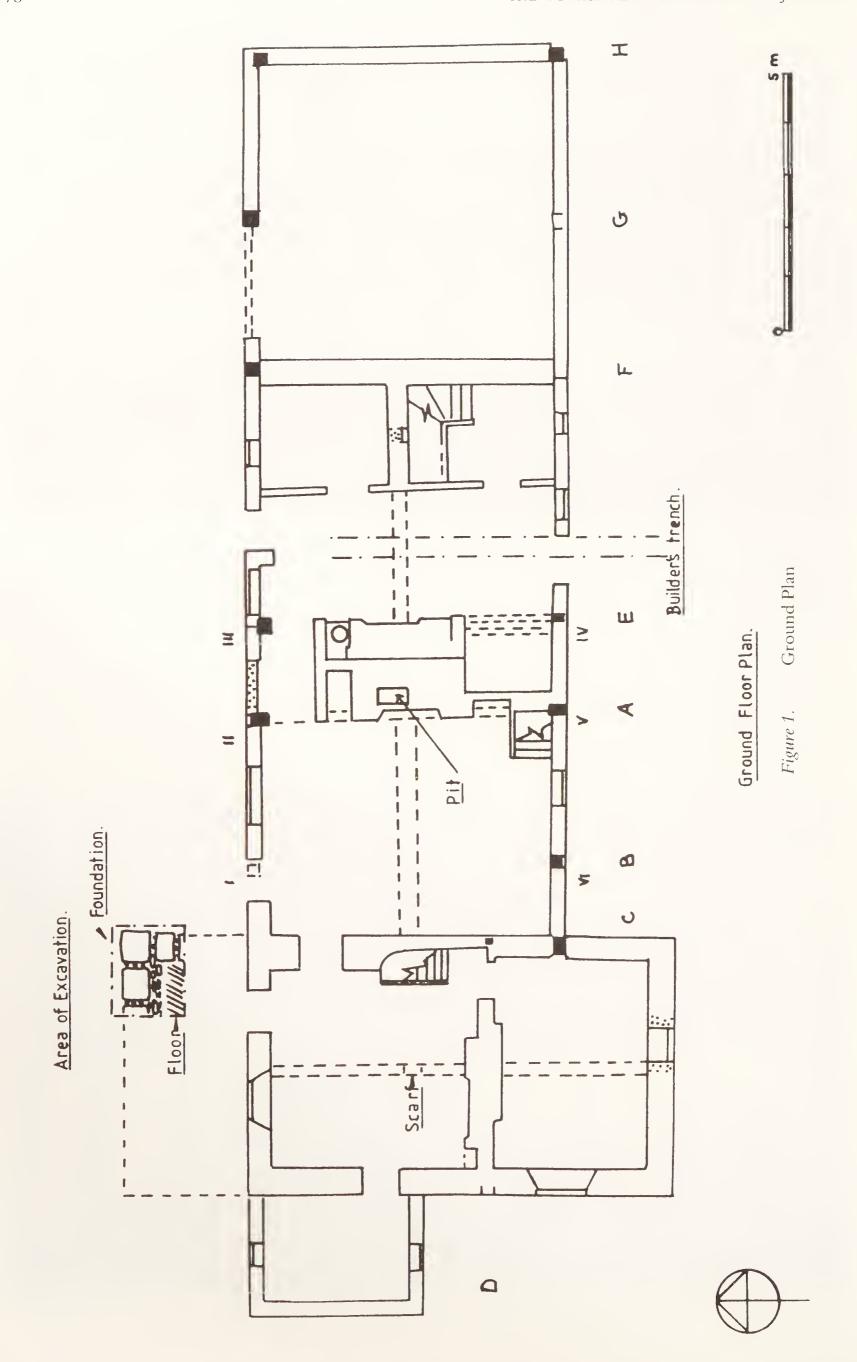
had fallen in. Mr Deighton decided to strip down the structure so that its condition could be assessed and he could then conserve as much as possible of the original. By the end of 1982, the core of the house had been restored to its original state as far as that remained possible, and the cross-wing rehabilitated, although the eastern end was thought to be too far gone to be rescued and had to be rebuilt. In the course of this work Mr Deighton afforded us unrestricted opportunities to visit, examine and record the building, to make two small exploratory excavations and to examine the trenches cut by builders. Many useful discussions with Mr and Mrs Deighton and the architect Mr J. S. Miller were most helpful in understanding the features that came to light. It would be satisfying to believe that as a result of such a magnificent opportunity we could now completely understand the history of the building; unfortunately this is not so. The following is an attempt to set out what has been learnt and what we have failed to discover.

The West Wing

Our first measured plan of the house (Figure 1) confirmed that the 1716 measurements were absolutely correct. The house was 6 yards and a foot wide at the east end (5.8 metres) and 23½ yards long (21.3m) if we allow for the masonry western end wall being thicker than the 1716 timber wall, bringing it to 21.8m in 1981. The west end was measured in 1716 as 11 yards and 1 foot (10.4m) but in 1981 was only 8m; we therefore asked Tony and Freda Tolhurst, members of the York Excavation Group, to excavate at 2.3m outside the north and south walls of the cross-wing in the hope of finding the original line of the wall. This they did, and discovered footings of well-squared stones in the exact position anticipated to the north of the existing wall. This showed that the wing was built wider than the house on both sides, and to the external dimensions given in 1716.

When occupied by the previous owner Miss Mary Metcalf, this end of the building consisted of two rooms on each floor with an open-tread stair in the northern room against the east wall, and a lean-to, her bathroom, which had been added to make a pantry in the 19th century. The smaller southern ground-floor room had stone walls and no original fireplace; the central wall dividing the two rooms was of brick, and the northern room was again stone-walled with a fireplace against the brick cross-wall. Miss Metcalf said that her father had removed a cast-iron range from this fireplace and substituted a modern, brick-framed parlour one in about 1920. The cast-iron oven door of the range was found by Mr and Mrs Tolhurst in seeking earlier foundations on the south side of the wing. Both ground floor rooms had central north-south ceiling beams, but that in the north room had been extended southwards by scarfing on an extra length; this showed that when the wing was built the hearth-beam of the fireplace was well forward of the brick wall and the end of the ceiling beam then rested on it. This interpretation was confirmed when we examined the floor of the room above, since the stretch from the scarf in the beam to the brick cross-wall was separately floored with later boards, where the chimney-hood had been taken away. The north wall had a disused outside door and a 19th-century window; the south wall had a tall sash window in a narrowed opening, which rose above the point where the wall became thinner on the outside. There was also a window in the west wall of the south room, and a door in the west wall of the north room leading to the added pantry. Between the house and the wing at ground level the wall was broken only by a door put in by Miss Metcalf's father c.1923; there were no signs of any other opening at all in the stone-built lower wall.

The two upper rooms in this wing were roofed from an east-west ridge with a principal-rafter roof with alternating lengths of tusk-tenoned purlins. When Mr Deighton began to strip the walls, an east-west tiebeam was revealed built into the brick cross-wall, with an angled brace to it on the east side from a timber in the wall of the house, and a mortice for a similar brace towards the west end. There were two pegholes



near the upper side of the tiebeam for angled struts to hold side-purlins in a commonrafter roof such as is usually found in 16th century houses in this region. This roof was
built to a north-south ridge line. In the west wall there were remains of a badly-decayed
post D, and of an even more decayed wallplate from the south end of the wing to just
north of post D. At the east side there was a plate almost equally decayed running from
the south end to the middle of the wing where a replacement beam took over. The best
portion of the wallplate (fig. 2 and plate 3) was on either side of D east, which had curved
braces downwards from it, with the panel on the south of it filled with daub and the other
filled with mortared stone chippings. The stone chip infill resembles that at Lady Row,
York, 1316. This intact wall showed that there was no upper-level access to the southern
wing room. Post C south was not tenoned into the plate, although a peghole above it first
made us think that it had been; it was in very bad condition and had to be replaced during
restoration. The upper room on the south side had, when revealed, a neatly-built brick
fireplace with arched head and sloping jambs.

The cross-wing must be equated with the reconstruction of ϵ . 1550 which cost £40 and replaced chambers, lodging, buttery and pantry. The brick cross-wall with its upper level fireplace is stylistically right for that date, as is the tiebeam with its angled braces. There must have been a large kitchen at the north end with a big timber-hooded fireplace for cooking, and behind it to the south a smaller service room—pantry and/or dairy that was unheated. The upper rooms would be the vicar's private apartments—a large kitchen chamber warmed by the heat from the chimney-hood in it, and through a low doorway on the west side of the hood a south-facing heated chamber that was much smaller. The only access to these rooms was by a ladder stair in the kitchen. The wall between house and wing must have been timber-framed in c.1550 in the style seen in the two surviving panels, although they look more like 14th century than 16th century work, because this wall is quite clearly not a part of the frame to the south of it which, as will be seen, had a quite different sort of framing. It has been suggested that the lower half of the outside walls could have been of stone in ϵ . 1550, but it seems more likely that they were framed on a low plinth wall of stone. The south wing wall was replaced at lower level in the 17th century, and this room perhaps then converted into a parlour. The other walls were replaced piecemeal at different dates, until the time when the wing was altered to form one of the cottages described in the terrier of 1849. It was then that the kitchen was cut short at the north end, the lower part of the wall between house and wing rebuilt in stone, the timber fire-hood removed and a cast-iron range installed. The whole was reroofed in the same direction as the house, re-using some old rafters. During the present restoration, Mr Deighton has restored the north wall of the wing to its 16th century line.

The chief difficulty we find in the above interpretation is the high cost of the wing—\$40—which should have been enough to pay for a much more elaborate building of higher quality. Forty pounds, however, may have been a conventional figure or a deliberately exaggerated one based on the proportion of the claim that the authorities were likely to allow. What the mid-16th century wing replaced will be considered below.

The Hall

To the east of the cross-wing in Miss Metcalf's day was her living room, which had an outside door in the northwest corner. Above this door inside could be seen the upper part of a post, the bottom of which had been cut off when the doorway was made—a most extraordinary thing to do and surely unnecessary, but which proves the doorway to be secondary. There was a window next to the door, and another window opposite in the south wall; at both these places the wall could be seen to be thin and probably timber framed. There was an early 19th century cast-iron range at the east end of the room flanked by some charming Delft tiles which, most unfortunately, were smashed by

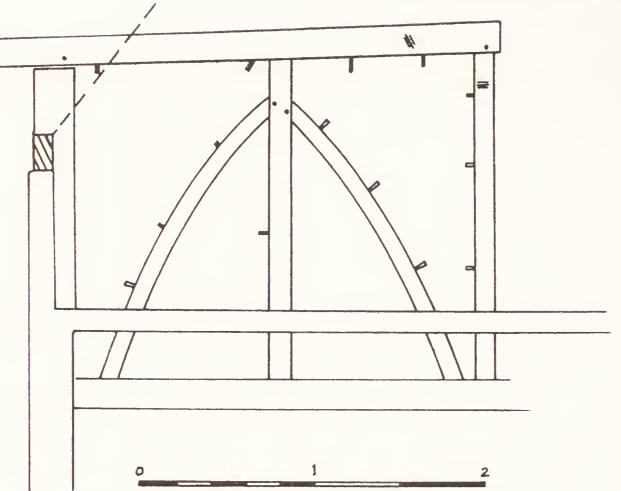


Figure 2. Wall construction at post D east (see Plate 3).



Plate 3. Wall construction at post D east.



Figure 3. Cross section looking east in living room, 1981.

intruders soon after Mr Deighton came into possession. On the right of the fireplace in the southeast corner was a newel stair, and on the left a door leading to the kitchen by way of a short passage. Above the living room was Miss Metcalf's bedroom which had small windows under the eaves north and south. The floor was built on joists from a thick east-west ceiling beam resting in the brick wall over the fireplace of the living room. The bedroom was ceiled against the rafters, the ceiling rising to a point which suggested, falsely, the absence of any collars.

There were four posts in this part of the house (A, A¹, B, B¹), of which B¹ has been mentioned. B south could be seen upstairs, where the tops of both posts together with the cut-off ends of the tiebeam resting on them were covered with wallpaper. The

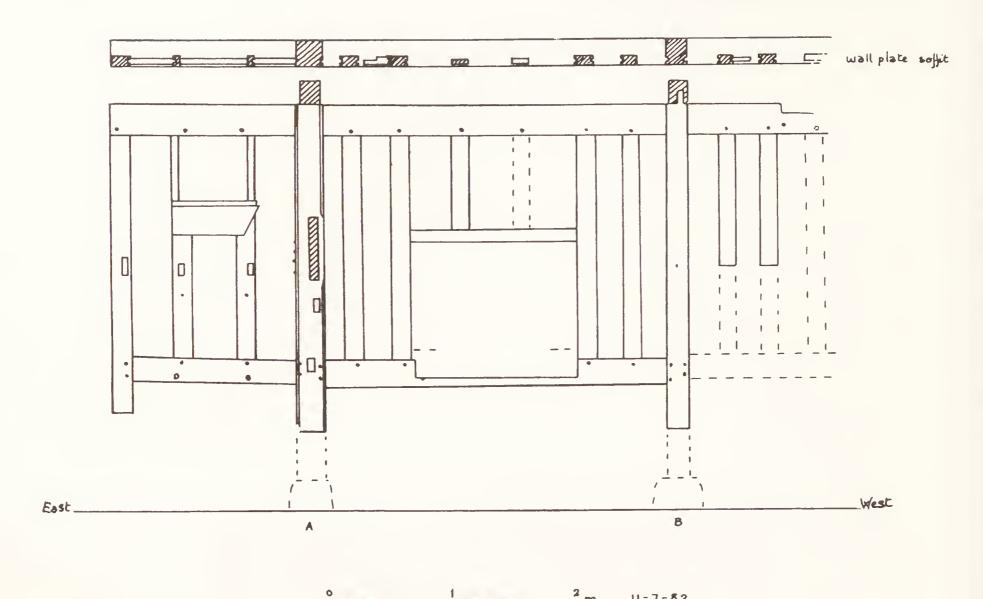
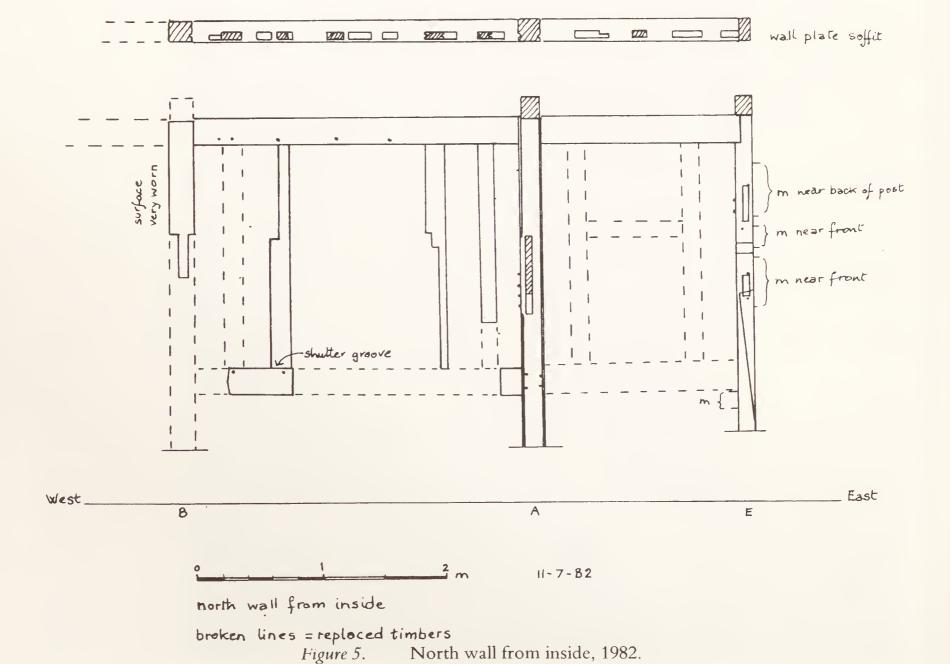


Figure 4. South wall from inside, 1982.



tiebeam-end from B south was removed by Mr Deighton and sent to Sheffield for treering dating, unsuccessfully. The posts at A A' could be seen in both walls upstairs and in the north wall downstairs, with the greater part of the tiebeam linking them and braces from the posts to the tie. Cupboards on both sides of the chimney upstairs enabled these timbers to be examined carefully. When the building was stripped, every surviving aspect of the frame on these four posts was exposed and measured, and is shown in figs 3, 4, and 5. Truss A is evidently an open truss at the high end of the hall, and is chamfered on both sides. It must be emphasised that, although there are pegholes near the middle of the tiebeam, there are no mortices to correspond, and there has been no crownpost on this tiebeam. Truss B, although its tiebeam was chamfered on the east side and this chamfer returned a short way down the head of each post, was less fine, but still an open truss; it was built without braces under the tiebeam. The walling rose from a high interrupted sill 1 m above the floor to a plate at 3 m up in one stretch. There were windows on both sides from the sill part way up the wall, the north window with a shutter groove inside. The walling ended 1.5 m east of AA¹ at a makeshift truss resulting from the posts EE¹ (which did not initially belong to the same structure as A and B) being moved from their original positions further east; and at just over a metre to the west of BB1 the walls had rotted away on both sides.

We can thus infer an open hall of three bays with two open trusses, originally measuring about 9 m in length by nearly 6 m wide. This is very unusual, and no other medieval hall of this elongated shape has been recorded in North Yorkshire. The roof was equally interesting. Although the tiebeams had been frequently whitewashed so that most of the soot had been drawn out of the surface of the grain, inside the mortices there was a considerable sooty deposit, and all the rafters, collars and soulaces were sooted. The roof was found on exposure to have a waggon form, only lacking ashlars for want of space on the wall-head, and instead with short angled struts from both tiebeams to the rafter couples immediately over them. Mr. David Black of RCHM points out that the struts at Lady Row, York (1316) are similar to these, but at Lady Row there are, of course, crownposts. The Old Vicarage roof, imitative of the roofs of mass-walled buildings such as churches, should be a pre-crownpost form, i.e. early 14th century; but there are so few crownpost roofs in North Yorkshire outside the towns that it is difficult to know whether to expect a house in the country at this social level to have one; or if not, whether a waggon roof is what we should expect to find in a house dating between, say, 1350 and 1500. Unfortunately, tree-ring dating could not help us; the form of the posts with jowled tops is not before the late 14th century.

The tiebeams at A and some roof members are numbered in a curious sequence that makes it clear that the hall was built on six posts with three bays. Mr. J. S. Miller tells me he has seen similar numbering at Foulbridge in the Vale of Pickering, a house dating between 1280 and 1310. B south has VI on the rafter springing from it; A has V on the tiebeam at the south end and in the middle, and V also on the south rafter and the strut meeting it, but on the north rafter and strut it is marked II. E has IV on the south end of the tiebeam, its rafter and strut, and III on the north rafter (strut missing). The tiebeam at E has mortices for a framed, studded wall above and below, and unlike the posts does belong to the original frame. All the assembly marks are on the west face of the timbers, and none of the posts themselves or their braces are numbered. The inference is that the hall was built onto a cross-wing whose trusses were separately numbered, or conceivably onto a pre-existing solar-service end or wing at the western end. There seems to have been no further building to the east of the hall when that was erected. If, as has been supposed because truss E has been moved, it was originally distant a full bay from A, the posts would both originally have stood where in 1981 there were doorways. A trench cut through the southern doorway in 1982 showed no more indication of a wall

at that point than could be inferred from the shallow internal floor layers giving way to well-dug garden soil; but there were no footings under the existing east-west walls. Although the tiebeam at E is part of the frame of the original hall, the posts at E, as has been mentioned, do not belong to it but to a further extension later added on at the east end. This is clear from the mortices on E¹ north for braces eastwards; E south was apparently a still later replacement post.

The post at A south has an unpegged mortice lower than those for the braces, which was not original and has been cut *in situ* to take a hearth beam for a timber-hooded chimney. This may have been part of the mid-16th century improvements that cost £6-13s-4d. Two short lengths of the beam remained embedded in the brick wall of the living room on either side of the kitchen range, and had a splayed, sooted inner face and two pegholes for a supporting post on the south side of the fire. When the fireplace was taken out, it was found to be earlier than the kitchen fireplace that backed onto it, since the brick wall behind the living-room fireplace had a thick build-up of whitewash layers on it under the abutting walls of the later kitchen fireplace. The hearth rested on stone flags, probably roofing tiles, on top of a brick-lined ash pit 30 cm deep, which was excavated in the hope of finding an earlier hearth below. Any such traces had, of course, been destroyed by cutting the ash pit, but irregular layers of charcoal were seen in the west side of the ash pit after removing the lining bricks, the lowest layer 30 cm down on top of natural clay. These layers may simply have resulted from disturbance when the pit was cut, or they may indicate a former open hearth nearby.

The hall, then, was a timber-framed, single storey building open to the roof, built against some other structure to the west. It was three bays long with two open trusses, the high end at the east. We must suppose there was a cross passage at the western end, either within the structure of the hall or in the wing beyond. The front of the house at this stage was almost certainly the south side, since there was a footpath leading directly across to the church, and the vicarage must have turned its back on the village street which ran some yards away beyond the orchard. The date of construction can hardly have been later than the mid 15th century to allow the low end of the hall to have decayed so far by the mid 16th century that it had to be curtailed, even supposing that the solarservice end that was 'clean taken away' was of an earlier build. This is where the greatest uncertainty, unfortunately, still lies. The hall was chambered in the 17th century by inserting a ceiling beam onto the brick wall that replaced the earlier timber smoke-hood, and perhaps the tiebeam at B was cut to make the chamber more useful. A north doorway was built in the late 17th or early 18th century opposite the north flank of the fireplace, which then provided a lobby-entrance from the village street side. The north front door in use in 1981 probably dates from the 19th century conversion into three cottages, when the lobby on the north side of the fireplace was used as a pantry for the middle cottage. The floor was concreted during the present century over a spread of limestone chippings, and this floor remains below the present floor, leaving the original levels undisturbed under it. The kitchen range has been repositioned at the other end of the hall, which is again open to the roof.

The Eastern End

To the east of Miss Metcalf's living room was her kitchen, its range backing onto that of the living rom with a set-pot between it and the northern lobby, and a recess to the south of the fireplace which, it has been suggested, may perhaps once have contained a built-in bed. A pantry and larder were divided off from the kitchen by light partitions and a stair went up from the pantry on the south. Above the kitchen was a chamber whose roof when exposed was found to be of late 17th-century common rafter couples with side purlins strutted from the tiebeams; the south pantry was open to the roof because of the stair in it, and the space over the larder ceiling was unused. The cross wall

at F was thin above, built of daubed laths between poor studs, and thick, built of cobble and clay, below. Beyond this was the stable which collapsed in 1977, when the RCHM was alerted and the late J. E. Williams visited the house and made sketches. He found the date 166III on the soffit of the tiebeam of truss F, but did not record that the beam, which is scarfed, appears to be a replacement. There were posts at F¹, G¹ and H¹ on the north side and at H south, all apparently of the same build and matching E' north; F and G south were missing and post E south was different from any other, being very plain and straight with no mortices for braces. The frame on these posts had braces from the posts to the plates and to the tiebeams, but no sill or middle girt for a studded wall, and may have been designed for a wall of clay, stone rubble, or brick, or a mixture of these. In 1970 when first seen by the writer the north wall was of whitewashed brick, and it was the dark line of post F1 and its west brace against the white wall which, glimpsed from the road in leafless March, attracted her attention to the house for the first time. In 1981 the tiebeam of G lay in the ruins of the stable; the ties of H and F were in position but both walls were very unstable and appeared likely to fall. In view of the rudimentary nature of the frame at this end and its very poor condition, Mr. Deighton decided to rebuild it and to make use of the timbers as and when possible in the restored parts of the house.

The frame at this end, though lacking a studded wall, had been built with well-carpentered posts and straight-cut timbers and may date from the early 17th century. The curving and scarfed tiebeam at F is somewhat thinner and sems to be an alteration made in 1663—the date, which is carefully cut on two faces to previously scribed setting-out marks, inescapably belongs to the year the timber was cut and used. This beam has

been used in the reconstruction of the hall.

The early 17th century eastern end, then, was built against the end of the hall when the original hall end-posts still supported the tiebeam marked III—IV in a position roughly in line with the outer doors of the kitchen. The end post E¹ north was probably used to replace a decayed post at that corner of the hall, whilst the corner post on the south side may still have been serviceable and no new E south post then necessary. The structure was probably built as an outbuilding to include, perhaps, byre, stable, traphouse, haymew and woodshed. There would be no need for a tithe barn since the vicar did not receive tithes. It is also likely that the end of the hall beyond the timber-hooded fireplace at that date served as a dairy and brewhouse, with a chamber over for a servant's lodgings and for storage. Even after the hall was ceiled, there was never any communication between the kitchen chamber and the hall chamber, to which fortunate circumstances we probably owe the survival intact of the tiebeams at A and E and so possibly of the house.

The next stage was the removal of truss E to its present position, which may perhaps be as late as the early 19th century conversion into three cottages; at all events, it may

probably be linked to the construction of the kitchen fireplace.

The kitchen was described in 1764 as floored with brick; in 1982 bricks were removed from the kitchen floor, worn indeed but probably not more than 75 years old or so, which had been set in sand and on a layer of charcoal over more sand, the whole base (where exposed in the builders' trench) no more than about 12 cm deep over natural clay. The bricks have been reused in the new hall fireplace.

After the demolition of the eastern end, new foundation trenches were cut and revealed remains of substantial stone footings under the former stable, in line with the south wall of the house, and extending right up to the site boundary. This boundary takes the form of a hedge and ditch; it will be remembered that in 1764 the property next on the east side was called Preston Garth. If this should be a corruption of Priest's Garth, it could be that the boundary here is not original and divided the property at a later date. The stones were large and squared to a north face; at the easternmost trench plaster fragments were found against this face suggesting that it was the inside of the wall.

Tumbled stone extended southwards from the wall line. The footings went down 60 cm below present ground level. The wall was not that of the early 17th century timber-framed stable but may have been the remains of a predecessor. The absence of an end wall at the site boundary is surprising, but we have no clear idea of the plan of the stone building, if building it was. In 1981 a block of limestone was found by the garden gate at the southeastern corner of the stable, which had cut into it the date 1697. Possibly this may relate to the buried footings but it is equally likely to have been put there from somewhere else.

The Old Vicarage at Church Fenton may not represent the first building on this site. Of the structures that were standing in 1970, the oldest was undoubtedly the hall which we cannot precisely date but may believe to be late 14th century. The western end was built as a cross-wing to this hall in the mid 16th century, on the site of an earlier end or wing containing service and solar. The eastern end consisted of the 17th century reconstruction of the upper end of the hall to form service rooms and outbuildings. The whole was divided into three cottages and a stable in the early 19th century and later reoccupied as one dwelling in the early 20th. The near-derelict eastern end was demolished and replaced by a new structure in the late 20th century when the western end was again extended to its 16th-century dimensions, and the hall opened up and restored as a full-height living room. Some future archaeologist may be able to examine the Old Vicarage in the light of greater knowledge and to interpret its history with more authority and in greater detail.

Note: Whilst I owe much to discussions with Mr. and Mrs. Deighton, Mr. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Tolhurst, Mr. David Black and others, the conclusions drawn are my own. I am grateful to Kenneth Hutton who helped with almost all the measuring and to several other members of the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Study Group.

HEIRS' AGES AND FAMILY SUCCESSION IN YORKSHIRE, 1399-1422

By JOEL T. ROSENTHAL

Any examination of late medieval *Inquisitions Post Mortem* immediately reveals the difficulty of, or the odds against, forging that idealized family link, the father-son transmission of the patrimony where an aged father yields place, name, and property to a son-and-heir already of legal age. The high incidence of failure regarding this intergenerational bridge building has struck those who have reviewed published volumes of the *Inquisitions*, as well as scholars who have concentrated on the land holders of a particular family, area, or social group.¹

The Inquisitions of the Yorkshire landholders, of both sexes, who died in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V can be analyzed so as to qualify and amplify our knowledge of medieval replacement rates, fertility, and family continuity.2 An examination of the Inquisitions for 107 men who held land within the county, conducted between 10 November I Henry IV (1399) and 16 June 10 Henry V (1422) reveals that a son was the heir of 67 of the departed, a grandson of 3, and some other relative for the remaining 37 men.3 Table 1 gives some details regarding these data. Counting grandsons with sons, we have a 65 per cent rate for direct succession by a male heir begotten of the body, as the medieval phrase went. This looks like a fairly strong link between the old generation and the new. But as we examine it more closely the picture grows cloudier: the phenomena of age and longevity, as well as of simple fertility and survival, enter to complicate our assessment. We find that of the 67 men who were followed directly and immediately by a son, only 24 were succeeded by a son already of legal age. This puts a very different complexion on the information conveyed by the Inquisitions. And that only ten of these 24 of-age sons were 30 or more tends to support the tableau of high mortality, of short life spans, and of a rapid intergenerational turn-over in late medieval society. We see that there might be a difference between an immediate and direct male heir and a male heir who was likely to continue the chain of direct succession into yet another generation.

^{1.} A fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities made possible the research for this paper, and I also wish to thank the editor of this Journal for helpful criticisms of an earlier draft. For comments on the rapid turn-over within families and social groups. K. B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), 142-176; Sylvia Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500 (Chicago, 1948), chapter v: G. A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1957), chapter i and ii: Carole Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521 (Cambridge, 1978), chapters i and ii. For reviews, J. C. Holt, in Economic History Review, 2nd series, 26 (1973), 695-96, and R. H. Hilton, in English Historical Review, 88 (1973), 170-171.

^{2.} W. P. Baildon and J. W. Clay, editors: Inquisitions Post Mortem, relating to Yorkshire of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series 59 (1918) (YAS, below).

^{3.} The YAS volume also contains some proofs of age (#28, 29, 33, 53, 60, 108, 136, and 150), some miscellaneous inquistions designed to determine whether a given party held land within Yorkshire (4, 54, and 81), and several IPMs that give no information about the heir's age (8, 27, 36, 40, 42, 55, 92, 130, and 141).

Table 1: Heirs of Male Landholders

Ageat	currection	ac ainon	in the	Inquisition
11ge ai	Succession,	, as giveri	in ine	inquisilion

Heir	1-5	6-10	11 - 15	16-20	21 - 29	30-	Total
Son	8	13	10	12	14	10	67
Other male	1		3	3	6	5	18
Female ¹	4	1	2	2	9	3	$21 + (1)^2 = 22$
TOTAL	13	14	15	17	29	18	107

^{1 -} Age given is that of eldest female, when succession is by more than one heiress.

Inquisitions Post Mortem are a basic source for this kind of information. Though there is a body of criticism regarding their reliability, much of it focusses on the conventional nature of the mnemonic formulae used in proof-of-age proceedings and upon the tooneat ages of the witnesses in such proceedings, rather than upon the age of the heir (or heiress).4 There is also a tendency to round off ages for heirs clearly well beyond the age of majority. But regarding the age of the heir, it was a different—and much more reliable—story. While the heir and his partisans sought to recover the patrimony as quickly as possible, the wards and farmers were concerned to prolong the minority indefinitely. These countervailing interests tended to balance or cancel each other out. Also, the more critical the age of the heir, i.e., as a minor or being just at or beyond the point of majority, the greater the impetus for an accurate return. An heir who was obviously long past that point might be conveniently listed as thirty or more, or forty and more, etc. Greater precision was demanded, and seemingly obtained, when the entire inquisitorial process was of more than academic interest. Most fifteenth-century heirs and heiresses who were cheated of their lands did not suffer because they could not establish their majority, but rather because rapacious relatives posed counter-claims, albeit specious or fraudulent ones, that proved too powerful to overcome. The IPMs, if taken with a pinch of salt, are at least a useful device for demographic investigation for what they tell us about family replacement and succession patterns.

The *Inquisitions* show that the largest single group or category of heirs of the Yorkshire landholders were their minor sons: 43 of the 67 sons, and 59 of the heirs of all types, for the 107 men. This represents 64 per cent of their sons and 55 per cent of all their heirs. Succession by a minor, of course, exposed the patrimony and the family fortunes to potential depredations from the custodians of the estates, from the guardians of the minor(s), and from the keepers of their marriages. More critically here, the mere

^{2 -} One heiress of unspecified age.

^{4.} On the accuracy of Inquisitions, R. F. Hunnisett, "The reliability of Inquisitions as historical evidence", in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed., D. A. Bullough & R. L. Storey (Oxford, 1971), pp. 206-235, and the references cited therein. Josiah C. Russell, *British Medieval Population*, (Albuquerque, 1948), chapter v, for the basic discussion from a demographic perspective: especially pp. 102-114. Russell's assessment is, on the whole, positive regarding the value of the IPMs and their reliability for age data.

^{5.} Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110; on the use of "even numbers" for heirs well beyond 21, and p. 113 on the tendency to round off ages. For examples of quarrels within families that had little to do with heirs' ages; Robin M. Jeffs, "The Poynings-Percy dispute: an example of the interplay of open strife and legal action in the fifteenth century", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 34 (1961), 148-164: R. Ian Jack, "Entail and descent: the Hastings' inheritance, 1370 to 1436", *Ibid*, 38 (1965), 1-19: Michael A. Hicks, "Descent, partition, and extinction: the "Warwick" inheritance", *Ibid*, 52 (1979), 116-128.

duration of so many minorities would increase the likelihood that many a young heir himself would not live to reach 21, and thus would expose the family land and fate to the risks of still another wardship and minority, of inheritance (or of disputed inheritance) by collateral kin, or of division of the patrimony. As this risk would increase in more-orless direct relationship to the length of the minority, it is sobering to realize that but 12 of the 43 minors were identified in the *Inquisitions* as being 16 or more (37 per cent), while 21 sons were 10 or less (50 per cent). Presumably most of those who were in their later teens would live to reach 21, if not necessarily into their middle years or old age. But what were the chances of survival of a group of eight youngsters, aged 5 or under? Some of them were very far indeed from their years of legal independence: "his son and heir is aged 22 weeks and more", or "his son and heir John is aged 35 weeks"."

In some cases we can learn the actual life span of the minor heir named in the Inquisition. Not infrequently, as we have just intimated, the young land-holder failed to come anywhere near his full span of three-score and ten, and sometimes his untimely death bent or broke the bough of family succession. The duke of Norfolk died, in exile, in 1399, leaving a 14 year old son.8 But when the son died, executed along with archbishop Scrope of York in 1405, he was 19 and without issue: Fortunately for the Mowbray family the young earl marshal had had a younger brother, John, who became duke and who lived until 1432. But two early deaths-the father had been but 33 at his death--plus a fatal political error put family fortune and continuity at some risk. John Deyncourt, son of lord William, proved his age in July, 4 Henry IV, and received his estates. Again, good luck balanced bad, for he was already married and at his death in May, 1406 there was a 3 year old son, able to stand as (infant) heir. 10 John, lord Darcy, died at 35 in 1411. Naturally, his son and heir was still a minor, a 14 year old, Philip Darcy. This Philip died in August, 1418, leaving a 15 year old brother as his male heir, daughters of 2 and 1 as his heirs general. This time luck ran with the family, for brother John lived until 1454, the daughters into the 1460s. The John Roos who succeeded his father, lord William, in 1414 at age 17 was to die in the battle of Beaugé in 1421, along with his younger brother. So we see how adversity could come like the breaking waves. At best, minor heirs and the duration of their minorities were turbulent waters through which a family might pass without fatal mischance.

Failing a son, other heirs were named as the law searched, in a pre-determined order, for the next heir. After a son, three of the landholders had a grandson as the next (and best) alternative, traced through a now-dead son. Grandchildren were clearly an old man's prerogative, for the three heirs from the next-plus-one generation were all of good age upon succession: 18, 24 "on the day of Robert's death", and 20 and more. ¹² So the familiar medieval pattern of either death in youth or in early maturity, or of a good chance of real survival, into one's 50s or beyond, is supported in these cases. We can also assume old age with the 10 men who were directly followed by a son already aged 30 and more upon succession. Thomas Ughtred was at least 73 when he died in 1402, to be succeeded by an 18 year old grandson, the son of his deceased son. Thomas' own father had lived to a similar age (c. 1292-1364), so there was a good tradition of survival here, in so far as

^{6.} *YAS* 13.

^{7.} YAS 117 and 9, respectively. For heirs of 3 years and more, YAS 47, 145, 154: for one of 1 year and more, YAS 160: YAS 122, for an heir "five years old on Friday after St. Leonard's day last".

^{8.} *YAS* 5.

^{9.} YAS 43. For details on the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk, Vicary Gibbs et al., The Complete Peerage (London, 12 vols in 13, 1910-59) (CP, below), IX, 601-607.

^{10.} YAS 28 and 47: CP, IV, 111-30.

^{11.} YAS 87 and 142: CP, IV, 63-66; for the lords Roos, YAS, 96 and 159, and CP, XI, 101-106.

^{12.} YAS 19, 57, and 98.

such factors meant anything. 13

Forty landholders had heirs who were not males begotten of their bodies: 18 of these heirs were males, 22 females. For want of a son, nine men were succeeded by a daughter (or a group of daughters). In these instances, only two of the girls were of legal age, in three instances she was in her teens, and in four cases she was aged 5 or less. 14 We know that children could be born in close proximity, and the young earl of Suffolk left a brother of 19 and daughters of 4, 3, and 6 months upon his death at Agincourt in 1415. 15 Robert Goushill had no brothers, but daughters of 2 and 1, and we have already referred to Philip Darcy's heir. 16 Thomas Neville left a daughter of 15 by his first mariage, one of 3 by his second. The first daughter lived to marry John Talbot, future earl of Shrewsbury: as the Furnivall heiress she brought him a peerage in her own right, plus the tangible assets that went with her claim to the patrimony. To Some men did have older daughters; either there had never been sons, or they had died, without heirs, before their fathers. William Sproxton's daughter Joan was 30 and more, Thomas atte Hall of Southcliff's daughter Alice was at least 40. 18 Several men were directly followed by sons' daughters: Robert Neville had a son, dead for at least five years, but the father of a living girl-child, and John Stavely's 30 year old grand-daughter was simply called his "kinswoman and heir" in the inquisition of 10 Henry V. 19

In the next circle beyond the daughters and grand-daughters would come succession by the landholder's younger brother--in seven instances--or by a sister, either older or younger--in ten instances. Though the brothers always had to be younger than the deceased, such an heir was below 20 on but three occasions, and of the sisters only one was below 11, 7 were of legal age, and one was at least 30. Statistically brothers were unlikely heirs, and three of those who succeeded only did so because the older brother had died a violent death while still young enough for us to presume that children might have been forthcoming. Ralph Hastings left a 24 year old brother at his execution in Scrope's rebellion in 1405, John Mowbray's brother was 17 after his death in that business, and lord Roos' brother but 141/2 after his death at Beaugé. Only Anthony de Beston's brother was really an older man, 40 and more, and a vicar at that. 20 Clearly in this last case the likelihood of succession had seemed remote when the brother had chosen his career, as was also the case with Roger Frankeleyn, whose son and heir was 30 and a vicar. 21 Sisters, like daughters, divided the patrimony. We find groups of such women: a sister of 30 (and a widow) and one of 25: sisters of 30, 28, 26, 24 and 22: of 24, 22, 21 and 20, along with an 18 year old nephew, son and heir of a now-deceased older sister.22 The resulting partitions of property, which placed shares of the patrimony under the de facto control of husbands, were fertile grounds for faction and litigation. But the Inquisition is a document with but an ephemeral concern for any given heir or particular

^{13.} YAS 19. Also, YAS 11: Philip Despenser was "36 and more" when he inherited in 1401. His father had had a long life (10/1342-8/1401), as did our Philip (1363-1424). He died without a male heir, and his daughter married VII lord Roos, who pre-deceased his father-in-law and who died in 1421: CP, XI, 103, and Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, III, p. 216.

^{14.} On inheritance by and transmission through daughters, McFarlane, op. cit., pp. 61-82 and 142-167: J. R. Lander, Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England (London, 1969), chapter vii.

^{15.} YAS 102: CP, XII, i, 441-443.

^{16.} *YAS* 31 and 142.

^{17.} YAS 59: for the daughter's marriage to the earl of Shrewsbury, CP, V, 589-591 and XI, 698-703.

^{18.} *YAS* 121 and 21.

^{19.} *YAS* 92 and 161.

^{20.} YAS 58. For the men executed in Scrope's 1405 rebellion and succeeded by brothers, James H. Wylie, History of England under Henry the Fourth (London, 1894: Reprinted, New York, 1969), II, 219, 221, 277-78, for Ralph Hastings, and II, 219, 244, 281-82, for Thomas Mowbray.

^{21.} YAS 7. For an example of succession to a peerage by a cleric, de la Warre, in CP, IV, 147-151.

^{22.} *YAS* 104, 158, and 71.

point of transmission, and it never hints at the bitter realities of partition which might loom just ahead. A sister was a useful almost-last resort, and the law actually did turn to her about once in every eleven or twelve instances of death and succession.

In the even more remote circles of kinship there were kin whose time did occasionally come, whatever the odds had once been against their succession. There were three cases of succession by nephews (two by sisters' sons, one by a brother's son), one by a great-great nephew (a sister's daughter's son's son), and one by a second cousin, once-removed. One landholder had no identifiable biological links of interest to the jurors, and the heir to the property he had held "by courtesy of English law" from his late wife proved to be his sister-in-law, i.e., the dead wife's younger sister, now stated to be 40 and more.

Viewed from afar the picture that emerges regarding succession and (male) heirs of the body, while grim, is well short of the horrendous. If we combine succession by sons, by daughters, and by grandchildren of either sex, we have 81 men (of 107 landholders) followed by a direct descendant, a more-than respectable 76 per cent rate. Only when we are considering the mere handful of cousins and nephews are we forced to move very far beyond the nuclear family's model avenue(s) of transmission. In terms of simple replacement the data are not unpromising. However, it is the *ages* of the heirs, more than their links with the landholder, that prove to be so interesting. Of the 107 landholders, only 26 were followed by a child (24 sons, 2 daughters) already of legal age at the father's death. And this probably means that very few of the fathers themselves died when much beyond 35 or 40 or perhaps 45, for as men of property they would mostly have married in their early 20s, if not before, and have begun their efforts to sire a brood of legitimate children immediately thereafter. Only those few men with sons of 30 and over, or with grandchildren, were likely to be 50 or more at their deaths. In all probability these greybeards comprise but 18 men of the group, a mere 17 per cent.

We also have the *Inquisitions* for 27 women, mostly widows, the reversion and reintegration of whose dower holdings were now under consideration. Of these women, 14 had a child as her heir: 11 sons, three daughters. And since the widow in question had outlived the husband—by anywhere from a few months to an entire generation²³—the children were always older at her death than they had been at their father's. Of the 11 sons only three were less than 20 years, three were over 30 when they inherited from their mothers. Of the three daughters, one was aged 2 and more, one was in her teens, one in her 20s. Eight women had grand-children as their heirs: six were sons' sons, one was a daughter's daughter (now aged 17, and already married), one a daughter's son. The grandchildren were all in their teens or 20s. One widow had a 60-year old sister as her heiress. Only a few had to reach out to more distant kin: one to a brother, one to a sister, one to a cousin, and one who had no one. ²⁴ So again, heirs born of the body were common, and for the women—unlike their husbands, who had pre-deceased them—heirs mostly of or almost of legal age: 11 heirs or heiresses below 21, 15 beyond (with six being 30 and more).

In many of those instances where the Inquisition identifies a direct heir the chain of family succession *appears* to be sound. The IPM's concern for the single moment of transmission flatters the incidence of direct succession, for it not only does not worry

^{23.} YAS 8, for a husband and wife who died in quick succession: William Barde died on 28 May, 1 Henry IV, Margaret on Corpus Christi day last (i.e., last before an inquisition held on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Luke, 3 Henry IV). Henry Vavasour, YAS 91, died on Monday after Ascension, 1 Henry V, and his widow's will was probated on 6 August, 1415: James Raine, ed., Testamenta Eboracensia I Surtees Society, 4 (1836) (TE, below), 362-364: she asked to be buried "juxta corpus Domini mei" and mentions 2 sons, a daughter, a mother, and 2 brothers; also, Fauconberg, YAS 13, and his wife Isabel, TE, I, 282-285.
24. YAS, 14, 26, 46, and 88.

about the future survival of the minor heirs, and the complexities of families are of no concern. As a record document the Inquisition is to full family history as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is to a synthetic political narrative, and sometimes we can just manage to catch a glimpse of the drama and crises so baldly reported by the uncaring jurors. When Edmund Langley, first duke of York, died in 1402, he was 61, and with two sons and a father who had lived into his 60s (Edward III, 1312-1377); the line seemed safe enough. But both sons died in 1415 and the next heir, the future third duke of York, was but 4 years old. Though duke Richard did survive until 1460, his family's sudden lurch to the cliff-edge of mortality was a familiar cautionary tale. The Bulmer family had been going along comfortably enough when Ralph died in 1408. Since his own father had died in 1366, he had to be of at least good middle age, with a son and heir already aged 23. But a year or so later the young Ralph died: the shades of the picture again grow dark almost overnight. We know that young Ralph's 3½ year old heir lived to continue a family line that only came to grief in the Pilgrimage of Grace, a century and a quarter later, but who had such certain foresight in 11 Henry IV?²⁵ John Inglesthorpe died with an uncomfortably young son: Thomas was but 19 when he inherited his estates in 8 Henry V. Then Thomas himself died two years later, leaving a 1½ year old son as his heir. Here too we know that the infant Edmund Inglesthorpe survived to marry the earl of Worcester's sister and to father a daughter, Isabel, who would marry John Neville, marquis Montague.²⁶ But in 1422 the thread must have seemed very close to snapping.

The IPMs also focus our attention on the most patriarchal aspects of the late medieval family. They are single-minded; if there was a male heir of the body, the search was over. Younger sons, daughters of any age, and all other kin are of no further interest, the legal process comes to an end without acknowledging their existence. But against this legalistic narrowness we can fill in some of the picture and give a more complicated and less mechanistic view of family and home life. Families, after all, were not just "about" father-son transmission, vital though that was. In lord Darcy's IPM he is simply reported as having a son and heir, Philip, aged 14 and more. But we can learn that there were also three daughters, Elizabeth, Matilda, and Margaret, plus the younger son John, who in this case reappeared a few years later as the heir to the title. Darcy's daughters were all young, for all received bequests in cash or in kind to cover forthcoming marriages. 27 Lord Roos, succeeded by a 17 year old son John, also left a daughter Elizabeth, to be governed by his widow, plus an illegitimate daughter Joan (to receive a bequest of £40), plus an aged mother, who could add his bequest of a cup to her share of the dower lands she had been holding since her husband's death in 1384.²⁸ The larger and older families, with their own traditions and customs, often showed but the merest hints of their histories when they had to meet the jury's narrow list of inquiries. We get little inkling from the Inquisitions of the strength of family bonds among such as the Scropes or the Plumptons or the Ughtreds: the transmission of heirlooms, the concern for the subsidization of marriages, the nurturing of heirs, and other such social devices designed to build

^{25.} YAS 49 and 75: Sir Nicholas H. Nicolas, The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy (London, 2 vols, 1832), II, 216.

^{26.} YAS 143 and 160: CP, IX, 89-193. Similarly, the Metham family, YAS 110: Thomas (1330-1403) left a son Alexander who died (YAS 110) in 1416, and his 16 year old son lived, 1401-1472. In this case there were 11 other children ready to take their place, had Thomas, Alexander's son and heir, died prematurely: J. W. Clay, ed., Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, with additions (London, 1899), III, 82. Old Thomas's father had died as far back as 1354, so the 4 men covered here stretched well beyond a century and a quarter.

^{27.} TE I, 356-357.

^{28.} *TE I*, 357-360: The mother, Beatrice Stafford, held a dower share from the death of her husband, IV lord Roos in 1384, until her own death in 1415. Her hold on this was not loosened by her brief marriage, 1385-1387, to Sir Richard Burley: *CP*, XI, 100, and *cf*. with note 23.

solidarity if not necessarily affection.²⁹

It would be misleading to talk simply of a statistical replacement rate for our group of 134 men and women, since they are a disparate group who just happened to hold land within Yorkshire (as well as in various other parts of the realm) and to die between Henry IV's accession and Henry V's demise. On the other hand, if the tale of medieval demography is sobering it is not wholly lugubrious, and we can comprehend the full swing of fortune's wheel when we look at the vital statistics of such a random cross section of prosperous fifteenth-century men and women. 30 We saw, in the grandparents and in the fathers of those heirs and heiresses who were in their 40s and 50s some tales of longevity and survival, of family continuity and succession. Some of the deaths that fell between 1399 and 1422, though personal tragedies, were neither premature nor such as to wrench the smooth fabric of family history from its proper loom. 31 Some families managed to over-ride the adversities we have enlarged upon, while others had the good luck to run an easy course throughout. Miles Stapleton left a son of 32 weeks and he himself had only survived his father by 6 years. 32 But the son grew to manhood and lived to serve in high office and to receive a knighthood. Roger Scrope, lord of Bolton, was only in his 30s at his death in 1403, his son and heir but 10. But the Scropes of Bolton-like the lords Clifford³³--were able to preserve a chain of direct father-son succession through the century, regardless of the age of each father and his heir. The 10 year old Scrope died at 27, but again his son--only 2 upon succession--lived a full life and left a proper successor. The death of a patriarch, whether young or old, did not have to be a blow from which the family would fail to recover. Social organisms too can adapt to difficult circumstances and accommodate a fair measure of trauma.

This analysis of the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* reminds us that we must recognize but not exaggerate medieval mortality and the rate of family extinction. Studies of specific families and of local groups bring such failures as there were into sharper focus than does a lateral examination of local society. Perhaps our data are those from which we should be free to generalize: succession by a legitimate child in about two or every three cases. This may have been a reasonable level, perhaps even a good norm, for pre-industrial European land holding families. A good half or more of the heirs were likely to be minors, about to undergo the sobering but common fate of orphanhood and wardship, arresting demographic phenomena that helped shape many of the social, legal, and economic institutions of late medieval England. The facts of life were harsh, but individual and family tragedies can be set into a statistical context, and they also bespeak

^{29.} I hope to publish at greater length on the "bonding" devices used by the successive generations of the lords Scrope of Bolton. For the Plumptons, Wylie, op. cit., II, 219-243 passim: Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, II, 310-312: Thomas Stapleton, ed., The Plumpton Correspondence, Camden Society, old series, 4 (1839), xxvi, for the will of 1407. In the will, the grandson and heir, Robert, is referred to as "son neveue". For the Ughtreds, TE I, 241-245. Since Thomas' heir was his grandson, it is not surprising that the old man's will make some mention of the dead son who linked them: prayers for his soul, at the mendicant houses within York, and a stone monument in Catton parish church; J. W. Clay, Extinct and Dormant Peerages (London, 1913), 222, and CP, XII, ii, 162.

^{30 -} On replacement rates, Sylvia Thrupp, "The problem of replacement rates in late medieval population", *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 18 (1965), 101-119. On possible peculiarities of upper class demographic patterns, Russell, *op. cit.*, 117. A phenomenon 1 label as "Yorkshire patriotism" does show in the wills: the heavy concentration of ecclesiastical benefaction upon ecclesiastical institutions within the county. I suspect this aspect of provincial life is worthy of independent investigation. For "middle class" life, J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969).

^{31.} Sometimes there could be a smooth transition at *our* moment, but a tangled future. William Percy, YAS 1, died without issue, 8 October, 1399, and his heir was his aunt, then 30 and more and unmarried. Some division and/or controversy was clearly on the horizon.

^{32.} YAS 9, and Dugdale's Visitation, I, 169.

^{33.} For the lords Clifford YAS 165, and CP, III, 293-295; for the Scropes of Bolton, YAS 32 and 154, and CP, XI, 539-546.

resilience and resourcefulness. The Yorkshire landholders were a mixed lot, in age of lineage, in wealth and power, and in what hindsight tells us about their future family prospects. But for their time and class they were probably quite typical in their mixture of success and failure in the crucial matter of the begetting and the rearing of children, those hostages to fortune and those links with the future and the continuity of the family.

JAMES RYTHER OF HAREWOOD AND HIS LETTERS TO WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY

By W. J. CRAIG

Part I. The Description of Yorkshire

The Text

Between July 1587 and August 1590 James Ryther, lord of the manor of Harewood and a member of the Commission of the Peace for the West Riding, addressed nine letters or papers to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England. These are preserved in the Lansdowne collection in the British Library. The collection also includes three other letters from Ryther to Burghley; one, dated Sacombe, 4 April 1589, is a letter of condolence on the death of Burghley's second wife, the Lady Mildred (Cooke); and two, dated January 1592, were sent from Newgate gaol, where Ryther had been imprisoned for debt at the suit of a barrister and money-lender, Hugh Hare. Although long known to historians, these letters have not previously been published in full and in the original spelling, nor has their significance in relation to what is known of the writer been fully considered.

In this, the first of two articles, we publish a description of Yorkshire, written professedly without ulterior motive ('to intreat of nothing') for Burghley's entertainment at Christmas 1588/9. This is by far the longest item in the series. When he wrote it, Ryther had not visited the extreme west of the county (Ewcross Wapentake), but later in 1589 he had the opportunity to see both Dent and Sedburgh, and so wrote a further account (dated 26 September) by way of a postscript. Most of the Description is here published for the first time; the last three-quarters of the Postcript were included in a pamphlet by Adam Sedgwick printed privately in 1870.

Both manuscripts are in Ryther's own hand and have marginal notes to the left of the main text. The Description has seventy of these, varying from single words indicating subject headings to miscellaneous comments, quotations and ejaculations of varying relevance; the Postcript has only one, but that of substance. Unfortunately it is not practicable nowadays to print these notes as they appear in the manuscripts and so they are presented, together with the editor's comments, as footnotes. In general the manuscripts are clear and regular, but afterthoughts are sometimes crammed between lines, or an extra line has been squeezed in at the bottom of a page; the marginal notes in particular suffer from lack of space and, in one or two places, from damage to the edge of a sheet. Abbreviations (e.g. 'pte' for 'parte') have normally been expanded and interlinear additions taken in without comment, as have replacements of one word by another later preferred. Additional punctuation has been supplied without, it is hoped, obscuring the loose syntax of the original.

^{1.} The description of Yorkshire is MS Lansdowne CXIX, No. 8 (ff. 109-122); its sequel MS Lansd, LXI, No. 69 (ff. 182-3). The other letters are in MSS Lansd. LIV, Nos. 53, 60, 78; LVII, No. 14; LIX, No. 11; LXI, No. 36; LXIV, No. 72; LXIX, Nos. 46, 48; and CVIII, No. 29. A microfilm of MS Lansd. CXIX and a photograph of MS Lansd. LXI, f. 182 may be seen in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, York.

^{2.} The only substantial extract hitherto published is the description of the City of York: D. M. Palliser, 'A hostile view of Elizabethan York', York Historian I (1976), pp. 19-22.

^{3.} Supplement to the Memorial of the Trustees of Cowgill Chapel (Cambridge 1870), Sec. III.

Biographical

On 5 January 1544 Henry Ryther, Esquire, of Harewood Castle died without issue. He was the last of the senior line of Ryther, a family which derived its name from the village on the Ouse N.W. of Selby of which they were lords, four generations of whom had been lords of Harewood. But two junior lines survived, descended from Henry's uncles Thomas and Nicholas, both of whom had settled in Kent. It was to William, grandson of Thomas, that Harewood now passed. He was then aged 28, living in Canterbury and married to Mildred, daughter of James Hales of Gray's Inn, son of a Canterbury lawyer. They had only one child, then aged 8 or 9 and named James, presumably as a mark of respect to his maternal grandfather, for this was not a Ryther name. The choice suggests that at the time of his birth the possibility of James becoming heir to one of the historic Ryther estates in Yorkshire was not envisaged.

We may assume that William moved north on coming into the inheritance; but James records that, though born in Kent, he was 'brought up in Northamptonshire', and that he did not live in Yorkshire until his father's death in 1563, by which time he was nearly 30 years old. Unfortunately we know almost nothing about his sojourn in Northamptonshire, beyond a few negatives. He apparently received no professional training, for he is not recorded as attending either English university, nor does his name appear in the records of any of the Inns of Court until 1582. But he counted himself an educated man and perhaps his father initially left him behind in the civilized part of the country south of the Trent so that he might be decently brought up. James was presumably in a position of dependance in some Northamptonshire household, and this may be why he did not marry until he had become established at Harewood. As we shall see, there are indications that he travelled on the Continent; if so, this must have been during his Northamptonshire years.

Meanwhile, of William Ryther at Harewood we know equally little. As regards the estate, one fact has, so far, come to light, namely that at Easter 1556 it was 'demised by fine for 50 years', i.e. the tax due on change of ownership was paid. On the personal side William may well have felt some anxiety over the fate of his father-in-law. James Hales had made steady progress in his profession and under Edward VI was of national standing, having been created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation. He was, however, too much of a lawyer and too little of a politician for, after falling foul of Edward for refusing to confirm Lady Jane Grey's title to the succession, he fell foul of Mary by his insistence that legislation passed in her brother's reign remained in force. The upshot was that he found himself in the Fleet Prison, where he attempted to commit suicide. The attempt was frustrated and he was released, only to succeed in drowning himself later in the year (August 1554). 8.

William Ryther evidently established his loyalty to the Catholic cause under Mary if,

4. The lordship of Harewood was held in the time of Edward III by William de Aldeburgh, but on his death the manor was divided between his daughters Elizabeth and Sybilla, who married respectively Sir William Ryther and Sir Richard Redman. It remained so divided between the families of Ryther and Redman until reunited by James Ryther in 1574. (See W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood* (Kendal, 1905) and J. Parker, 'Some notes on the lords of Harewood Castle', Y.A.J. XXII (1912), pp. 150-8). The commonest alternatives to the spelling 'Ryther' are 'Rither' (the form always used by James) and 'Rider'.

5. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete (1816), p.168, gives James Ryther's age as 26 years 6 months in June, IV Elizabeth, i.e. he was born Dec. 1535/Jan, 1536, but the pedigree of Ryther of Belton (A. R. Maddison (ed.), Lincolnshire Pedigrees III, Harleian Soc. Pubs. LII (1904), pp. 841-2) gives his age as 26 yrs. 6 months in 1558/9. His age is not given in his father's will of 1 Jan. 1559. The earliest Canterbury parish register begins only in 1538.

6. J. Foster (ed.), The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889 (London 1889), p. 61: James Rither admitted 8 Feb. 1581/2.

7. PRO/C142/245/81 (Inquisition post mortem of James Ryther held at Leeds, 4 Sept. 1596).

8. DNB, XXIV, p. 28.

as Whitaker affirms, he was accepted as Esquire to the Body of the Queen. We have his son's word for it that he found Yorkshire 'strange'; otherwise all we know of him at Harewood is that he made his will on 1 January 1559, 'being sicke of bodie but of good and perfecte memorie', describing himself simply as esquire, 'of the Paryshe of Harwoode in the Countie of Yorke', and that he died on 4 February 1563. His wife survived him. 10

We may pause to consider briefly the inheritance which William had stepped into. As one of the old armorial families of Yorkshire, that of Ryther was widely connected in the county. 11 If we may judge from the monuments surviving in the churches of Ryther and Harewood, 12 it was in the fifteenth century that the family's standing was at its height, with its head, Sir Ralph Ryther, holding the positions of Constable of York Castle in 1486 and Sheriff of Yorkshire in the following year. But with the Tudors decline set in. Several branches simply died out and there was also the difficulty which all longestablished landowning families had to face of adjusting to the break with Rome. For such families the difficulty was brought into the open by the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. The lord of Harewood at that time was the Henry already mentioned, only son of Sir Ralph by his second marriage to Matilda Percy. Like many others, Henry vacillated, and the end of an unhappy episode was a letter of 14 March 1537 to Thomas Cromwell begging oblivion for 'this late attempt of my party which I do not a little lament'. 13 It was the end, that is, of Henry's vacillation, but he was then made to suffer the humiliation of being appointed to one of the Duke of Norfolk's inquests to examine those still under suspicion of disloyalty to the Crown, and then the further humiliation of being appointed by Cromwell as a member of the grand jury for the trial of Lords Darcy and Hussey, the former a kinsman and the latter his father-in-law.¹⁴ When Henry died childless in 1544 it was to his first cousin once removed, William, in distant Canterbury, that the Harewood inheritance passed.

In the south the name of Ryther, though less conspicuous, was, so far as we can judge, untarnished. William's Canterbury connection was comfortable. The head of the other Kentish branch, John, son of William's great-uncle Nicholas, was a trusted servant of the Crown and one of the signatories of bills on the occasion of Henry VIII's expeditions across the Channel in 1544 and against Scotland. Since about 1540 he had been cofferer in the household of Prince Edward (and perhaps retained the position when Edward

^{9.} PRO/PROBATE 11/48/165. The will relates solely to goods and chattels. James is the sole heir and executor. Probate was granted in the prerogative court of Canterbury at London, 15 July 1563.

^{10.} It is possible that the coat of arms which Glover saw in the great chamber at Harewood Castle in 1585 dates from William Ryther's time.

The quarters were: 1 and 8 Ryther; 2 probably Meschines; 3 Albemarle; 4 Aldeburgh; 5 De Lisle; 6 Fitzwilliam; 7 Grove. (J. Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the years 1584/5 by Robert Glover* (1875), pp. 303, 466-9). The seventh quarter must refer to William's mother, the daughter and heiress of John Grove of Greenhithe, Kent (Ed.).

^{11.} The fullest pedigree of the lords of Harewood is that in T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), between pp. 166-7. It is not always reliable but names and dates have been taken from it unless otherwise stated.

^{12.} See P. S. Routh and R. Knowles, A Ryther Legacy: the Monuments assessed (Wakefield 1981) and The medieval monuments of Harewood (Wakefield 1983).

^{13.} Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, XII (1), 649.

^{14.} Ibid. 1172. We may compare the fate of Richard Redman (d. 1544), father of Matthew, the last Redman to own a moiety of Harewood. Under pressure he took the oath of allegiance to the Pilgrims, but managed to obtain pardon. Nonetheless he 'was one of those suspected sympathisers whom the Duke of Norfolk with refined cruelty, selected to serve on the Grand Jury which tried the leaders of the movement' (Parker, op. cit. in n. 4, p. 157).

^{15.} Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, XIX (1) 275 and numerous subsequent refs. L. and P., H. VIII, XVI, 1488(4). He is described as 'cofferer to King Edward the Sixt' in Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, Surtees Soc. XXXVI (1859), p. 235.

became king) and was clearly known as a man who could be trusted with money. On Henry Ryther's death he inherited the family estates at Ryther and Scarcroft, near Leeds, but there is no evidence that he ever lived there. He was dead by 1557 when his son John's title to the Yorkshire estates was confirmed: there had been legal complications, and William was one of those who stood surety for young John, so the family tie was still effective. If, as seems likely, William had felt little enthusiasm over moving from Canterbury to Harewood, he may have drawn comfort from the knowledge that the family connections at and around the Court were in good repair. James, on the other hand, when his time came, clearly enjoyed the prestige attaching to lordship of a manor and became keenly interested in the surrounding county; but when he got into difficulties he found himself without effective support from any in positions of power.

In the present context a brief outline of James's tenure of Harewood will suffice in introducing his description of Yorkshire. By the time he came to write it he had built up for himself what to all appearances was a very respectable position. He had married, about 1570, Elizabeth, the eldest of the three daughters of William Atherton of Harewood. At the time of the herald Robert Glover's visitation of Yorkshire in 1585 he had a son, Robert, and three daughters (Edith, Mary and Anne) living; a son, John, had died and two further daughters (Helen and Muriel) were born subsequently. In 1586 he was elected M.P. for Appleby in Westmoreland, 17 and at about the same time was appointed a member of the Commission of the Peace for the West Riding. 18 He had enlarged his patrimony and in particular, with his neighbour, William Plompton, of Plompton near Knaresborough, had bought the Redman moiety of Harewood. 19 But he had over-reached himself and as he wrote the Description and its Postscript he was aware of trouble to come. A more detailed examination of this, together with other matters, such as the suspicion of recusancy attached to him and the various relationships with neighbouring families which engaged his attentions, must await the publication of the remaining letters in the second part of this article. For the present we may merely note that James Ryther ended his days imprisoned in the Fleet, where he died in December 1595, and was buried on the following 5 January in the churchyard of St. Bride's, Fleet Street. 20 At Easter 1600 Robert and his sisters sold the castle and manor of Harewood to clear the debt and the Ryther connection with Harewood came to an end. 21

Sir William Wentworth, already owner of the neighbouring Gawthorpe Hall, was evidently greatly attracted by the possibility of adding Harewood to his estates and the negotiations were concluded to his satisfaction a few years later. In 1607 he wrote of 'providences vouchsafed to his family', 22 which include the following: 'Then it pleased God to give me an opportunitie to buy Harwood . . . The house of Harwood Castle being for manie years devyded betwixt the Redmans and Rythers was at last of James Ryther's pollicies and purchase unyted in him self. Butt his proud overweening condition, albeit he had especiall good giftes of nature, brought him to dye in the Flete for debt and his sonne Robert Rither to sell all his inheritance'. The price was £11,000, which Sir William regarded as 'too deare by £4000 at least'. However from a petition in Chancery of 16 February 1616 it appears that £11,000 was eventually paid.

^{16.} Cal. Pat. Rolls, Philip and Mary 1555-7, pp. 292-3, where John sen. is described as of 'Stepney, Middx.'.

^{17.} P. W. Hasler (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603, III, pp. 312-3. In this session the Commons met from 29 Oct. to 2 Dec. 1586 and from 15 Feb. to 23 March 1587.

^{18.} PRO/E/163/14/8, a *Liber Pacis* of 1585, with additions made up to 1587/8. James Ryther is one such marginal addition. The book is thought to have been possibly Burghley's own copy.

^{19.} For the division of the manor, see n. 4 above; for the purchase of the Redman moiety, see *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period IV (Y.A.S.R.S.* VIII, 1889), p. 62.

^{20.} PRO/C142/245/81: Guildhall MS 6538.

^{21.} Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period IV, p. 145.

^{22.} Camden Soc. 4th Ser. 12 (1973), Wentworth Papers 1597-1628, pp. 30-1.

The Description of Yorkshire

James Ryther's description is, as far as is known, the earliest account of the county written by a resident. True, he had only been a resident for some 25 years, but in the course of building up a position for himself during those years he had visited almost every part of the county, the principal exceptions being the northern dales and the area around Richmond and Northallerton. He claims that the fact he only came to live in Yorkshire when nearly 30 offered 'a dyrecte way between love & dislyke leadinge to the trewth'. The dislike is more often apparent than the love. Dr. Palliser has already considered his hostile view of York itself, and it is clear that Ryther never ceased to find repugnant certain aspects of life in what were no doubt wild parts by comparison with the counties south of the Trent. There are, for example, a number of regretful references to his distance from 'the sun'; another lament is over the lack of education and consequent uncouthness of the young Yorkshire gentry. However, he managed to take a reasonably dispassionate view of what he saw, and in recording factual matters he is a reliable witness whose conclusions are, at worst, almost always reasonably based. Whatever he describes is based on personal observation, whether visual or aural.

Words interested him as much as things—and more than people—and he may be fairly classed a good all-round antiquarian for his day. The description of Yorkshire is inconsequent and scrappy, often no more than a sequence of notes, extracted maybe from the jottings he calls 'myne evedencis', but much interesting detail is to be found scattered through it. Two passages are in a class by themselves, those on Halifax and Dent, for here we are made aware of the inhabitants, of whom there are only a few isolated glimpses elsewhere.

Of especial interest from the biographical point of view are the half-dozen or so references to places on the continent of Europe, all of which occur in the description of Yorkshire. They come in a variety of contexts both topographical and philological, but if strung together they do seem to point to the conclusion that Ryther must at some time have passed that way. In Yorkshire he had obviously seen all the places he names and it would not be like him to have picked up continental names from a book; moreover at least two of the names are so obscure as virtually to rule out the possibility of his having come across them unless he had been there. These places are: Altrip (a Roman station on the Rhine near Mannheim), Schaffhausen near Lake Constance and the river Aach, which flows into the Rhine at Radolfszell nearby, together with 'Wallisher', 'the part of Germany like Wales', which is most easily understood as a name for Switzerland; next there are Lombardy and Genoa, neither of them significant in isolation, but suggesting a possible sequel to a journey up the Rhine; and lastly San Sebastian, with which Hartlepool is surprisingly compared, a possible port of call on a voyage back from Genoa.

Finally we may touch briefly on the numerous allusions to and quotations from classical and other authors. All too few of these have so far been identified and so it would be premature to evaluate their significance, in particular in relation to James Ryther's own education. Are they just the stock-in-trade of school-book anthologies or do they represent a more independent standard of education and culture? Given the difficulty in those days of looking up texts or checking references, it is not surprising that a number of the identified quotations are faulty. But how naturally did they come to the writer? Were they dragged in to impress or were they an integral part of the man himself, as no doubt were those which bespatter the pages of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*? There can hardly be an answer to these questions, but they are perhaps worth posing to remind us of the hazards that surround any attempt to master a 400-year old text by an unknown writer.

^{23.} Both Leland, who wrote 50 years earlier, and Camden, a younger contemporary of Ryther, came from London. 'H.T.R.'s' description of Cleveland written for Sir Thomas Chaloner c. 1605, though more scientific, is more limited in scope (see *The Topographer and Genealogist* II (1853), pp. 403–32).

THE DESCRIPTION

Patriej meej patri dignissime honorando et gravissime onerato

Knowinge for trewe that your Lordship is at no tyme lesse idell then when most at leisure, and withall remembringe the wise mannes opynion that golde may be fyned out of the basist metalls, I am by thes sett forward to dedicat a fewe rude lynes to your Lordships oppertunytie, so seldom vacant from matters more importinge. Neither shall thes (I trust) be founde alltogether impertynent to those your Lordships usuall and most honorable indevors, favored so far to all good effects, as they ar neer to his sacred will that sendithe all happie success. Sacam, in Hartfordshier. January 3°. 1588

Tui observantissimus Ja. R

Ad eundem de livore

Virtuti laus est, laudi comes invida, livor,
Hinc subit heroum semper acerba lues
Consequitur claros hic livor adusque sepulcrum
Tunc fugit, et vivax da! tibi fama locum,
Jam tua te merita spoliat presentia fama
Post mortem invidia maxime maior eris²

R

Brigantum regio

As judgment, apted to your Lordships gravity, but a mean opinyon meet to com from my slender conceyt, of the countie & countrie of York, I adventure to present. Som obsarvauncis I purpose to touch but to intreat of nothinge, levellinge my proportion to your Lordships leysure rather then by the matter. To avoid parcyallytie I am offred a dyrecte way betwen love & dislyke leadinge to the trewth, writinge of a countrie strainge and unkynde to my father and self, native and naturall to the rest of our name and auncestrie.

Yorkshire is knowen to containe in length and bredth for the more parte iiij^{xx} myles.³ The famus river called Humber, lyenge betwen the counties of Lyncolne and York, doth resemble the bole of a great tree, whose feeders the lesser ryvers ar lyke bowes and braunchis spredinge over all the countries of York; these ryvers allso make yt somwhat lyke in showe to the rich countrie of Lombardy, called the garden of Ittally, as Ittally of Europe. From the ryver of Teas, beinge the bounder by northe, even to Lynkolnshier south desendith a flatt or levell thorough this countie, contayninge xxtie myles in bredth, bordered on the east with those mountayns & hills called Blackamoore and the Wolde,⁴

^{1.} Sacam besides the Woulde. Since 1495 the manor of Sacombe, 4 miles N. of Hertford and 12 miles from Burghley's house at Theobalds, had belonged to the Plompton family of Plompton near Knaresborough. In 1547 it had passed on the death of his grandfather to William Plompton (1543–1602) and had been in ward to the Crown during his minority. In 1574 William was joint purchaser with James Ryther of the Redman moiety of Harewood (above, Intro. n. 19). It is not known that he ever lived at Sacombe and Ryther may well have acted as his steward there (see also *VCH*, *Herts* III, p. 137).

^{2.} To the same, on Spite. Spite shadows fame; praise virtue, spite's your slave;/ So heroes struggle always, from the cradle to the grave./ Yes, malice dogs the famous every moment of their lives,/ Then slips away and leaves a place where only fame survives./ If now your presence robs you of your proper share of fame,/ Hereafter, spite withdrawing, all the greater'll be your name.

^{3.} both short and beyond this quantity, yet not much.

^{4.} Blackamore, Yorkeswolde.

that lye between this plaine and the oatian; on the west allso with the lyke or greater hills hemmyd in, whose backe partes devide us from the counties of Darby, Chester, Lankaster and Westmorlande. Ther ar many lesser, yet pleasant & fertill valleis (or as we tearm them dales) reachinge upp amongst thes mountaines, bearinge their names after the rivers that run thourough them, moe of thes in the west then in the east partes. But this great dale lienge betwen the east and the west mountayns may well be tearmyd one of the bewtifull valleis of the world, so pleasantly is yt myngled with woods, pastures, medowes and arrables.

In the centre of this goodly plaine, somwhat favoringe the south east, upon a confluence of the waters of Owse & Fosse is placed the auncyent Cytty of York, 5 as yow wolde saie sytuat in a choise parte of this yland to comande both the kingdomes of Ingland and Skotlande; so happyly for the abondance of all necessaries to humaine lyf, as, besides the consent of writers reportinge their longe and plentifull intertaynment of huge armys, in our daies yt is seen that it cannot easyly be surchardgid with company, the victuall of all kyndes do so contynewally increase with the repaier. 6

By this lazie aboundance the idell inclynacion of the inhabitantes is only excusable, or better said accusable. Genua, of all the great cytties of Ittally, is said to have the most hard & baren soyle about yt, and therfore bringeth furth most providente marchantes and industrius men of all sortes. Our great cytty is a meer contrary to Genoa, for besides the fertell soyle, havinge good passagis as well to bringe in by water as to utter by lande any such comodyties as Ingland usually interchaungith, the most common adventure of thes cytysins is over the ryver of Humber into Lyncolnshier for barley, by which and by other their improvidencies they rather seek to pray upon their owen countrie then to provide for yt. The peoples inviron ar not drawen by comoditie but dryven by need to make their provition at York. Many charges the marchauntes fech from London which they might have at the best hand wher the Londoners buy them, & yet, taken ther, might afford them much cheaper then we can send thither for them, because they buy them in grosse. But indeed they devise, by holdinge all thinges deer, to dryve the rycher sort of the countrie to make their provitions at London, and only the poore and unable ar throwen upon them, whom they powle extreimly.

Their usury (which in effect of all the able sort practised) is more then Jewish, for upon pawen or such other securitie as they demaunde, they usually take after the rate of xxx, xl. and 1 pounds in the c, and yet by this trade som of thes usurers com to beggery, ¹⁰ for eyther they ar forst to adventuer with skapethriftes for thes or greater rates, and so com to irrecoverable losses, or else their money lyeth so longe ded in their hands, by awaitinge for such as ar straight beset to take yt, by that desperat price, as in a fewe years he that lendith without daunger of the lawes, ¹¹ yea after v pounds in the c, cometh to a more clear & assured gaines then thes can do, for that his hassards need to be none, nor his money be any tyme idell. This cyttie doth seldom bred any rich man, but many accompted more rich then indeed they ar; som of their best sute take up money at London

8. if any be given to trafyque by sea they rather malice [seek to injure] such.

^{5.} York.

^{6.} I have seen in this cyttie ij dosen of larks newe taken refused for the price of ijd. 'repaier': concourse, supply of people, goods. Cf. 'by that repaier of necessaries' below.

^{7.} pingue solum, ingenium pingue. the cyttezens of Yorke to pray upon their owen countrymen make them selves a pray to straungers.

^{9.} in the dear tyme of corne, wher other towens sent golde, our cyty sent cloth to chaunge for corne & so gatt yt both hardly later & dearer by much then other men did. In his letter of 7 Aug. 1587 Ryther referred to the fact that the rich were reducing the numbers of their servants and so increasing the number of vagrants, 'corne rysinge to so hie a price and the trade of clothinge fallinge to so lowe a rate'.

^{10.} and so in effect of all rych men in Ingland abused; no man letts his money lye nor lendes for love.

^{11.} Moste comonly they exersise thes unsasiable usuries under the coller of bargayninge for barley or lead.

by the proportion permytted to lett at home by thes unresonable rates, ¹² & so reputed rich with other mens goods. Bie thes their impollytyque actions they put over great & assured gaines into straungers purses and (as I said) pray upon their own countrie people with lesse proffytt to themselves then they might by better coorses & wiser usancis. ¹³

The comon treasure of this towen wyttnessith their privat humors. Ther Lord Maior makith chamberlaines somtymes ten in nombre, of which every one paieth a certaine som of money to their chambre. This money easyth his lordships provition for that year; yt is reported that every chamberlaine hath not in his chardge the som of xs to keepe. Their choise of magistrates is so undiscreet, or els of able men so small, as their mayors & shiryffs, after their offices executed, ar somtymes seen to lyve poorly & dy woorse then nothinge woorth.

Their navigable ryver called Owse, of shelves hath som letts, that ships of burden passe not so well as with a lyttell help of cyte & labor they might do; ¹⁵ but yt may be holden for a princypall amonge thes privat people, that their comon comoditie occupieth the least parte of their care.

For their artifficers they ar hardly to be mached, in beinge so many, so unskillfull, and so dear. ¹⁶ Maney of thes keepe, som one mylke kowe, som two, which in sommer lyve upon their commons adioyninge to the cytty and in wynter upon hay, at the tyme of year brought to their doores to be solde in resonable sort. This cowe eatith awaie their industrie, by whose defect unskillfullnes increasith for this; with the prentise beinge in the provition of many howsholds, whose maisters card and drynke for the more parte of the daie. ¹⁷ Great prehemynences appertaine to thes mylk bearinge bests, for by their costom in comynge home from their pasture they use to take the wall of such as they meet, yea of my Lord Maior hymself if the sword bearer be not all the stowte man; so that from hence this olde northern adage is rysen, 'Take hym for a tall man that dare by force take the wall of a prentise in London, of a skoller in Oxforde, or of a cowe in Yorke'. But if we dewly consider of their indiscretions in fallinge out with their mowth the towen of Hull, we shall the lesse marvell if the head and belly carrie so lyttell substance.

For all their use of drinkinge inordynatly, yet no such faculty as a comon bruar in their cyttie, by which their bear is not good nor holesom. Their ale in many placis myngled with rosyn to make yt stronge, in som parts with vryn. Their bred, which they brag of, is rather white then good. Their poore aboundant, but left to the provityon of the Lord President and Counsell, yet hardly ruleable.

But of all their untowardnessis to publick good, this one exellyth the rest. In the late expected tyme of daunger by warres & invation of a dedly and most mortall enymy, ¹⁹ when all other partes of the countrie did most willingly put their backs under weighty burdens as the cause imported, thes of Yorke and their Aunsty²⁰ did not bear a fly or betwen them lift a fether, for this parte of the country adjoyninge to them and challenged to be of their lyberties is of itself thought to be full as able as som other portion of the shier

^{12.} The 'proportion permitted' by law (13 Elizabeth c. viii) was 10 per cent. See Cliffe, J. T., Yorkshire Gentry (1969), 145-7.

^{13.} I suppose her market sholde have the full halph of the whole riches of this realm, if she sholde have her only dewe by thes collutions of usury, which might growe to som extream yssew if yt be not preventid.

^{14. £}vi xiis iijd is the som as I can learne, for they ar secret in their owen affaires, as besemeth the spise. 'Spise': spies or informers.

^{15. &#}x27;Shelves': sandbanks; 'letts': obstructions; 'cyte': situation.

^{16.} uncoonynge artificers & the cause whie.

^{17. &#}x27;In resonable sort': in convenient lots; 'by whose defect ... for this': their skills being lost; 'with the prentice ... howsholds': whilst in many households which keep apprentices.

^{18.} Beer & ale, maynbred. 'Faculty': trade or occupation; cf. below 'faculty of cloth' in Halifax area.

^{19.} A reference to the recent Armada crisis in the previous summer.

^{20.} Auncsty, of Auncyenty *ut creditur*. The Ainsty 'appears to be named from a place in Copmanthorpe that was probably the Wapentake meeting place' (V.C.H. City of York, 318).

chardged with iijc soldiars, and yet both thes and York were chardgid with no moe. ²¹ So, if we proportion their Aunstie lyke the rest in bearinge this nombre, then the forcis at this need found by our famus cyttie of York, resembling London in the degre (I may not say in the statur) of a Lord Maior, will upon a just reckninge amount to never a man; yet argue the matter with som of their magistrates and they will grudge at the great chardge.

It will haply be expected that I sholde now, after so many ernyd discomendacions, touch som partes of their government desarvinge praise. Trewly, my good Lord, I know not wher to begyn, & so I ende. So I ende.

The towen is well walled, ther castell decayd; the cheef partes of their cytty have often ben alterid from one place to another; their mynster bewtifull & but a new byldinge. They have had of late L churches; now ther byldinges ar so decayd as within their walles they have nombers of gardens & orchards, some pastur & meddow; their suburbs not great. Seldom is ther any pestylence or other infectinge sycknes seen in Yorke, greatly to be pyttied that their magistrates ar so symple and their marchaunts so improvident.

Amongst the trewe antiquities of this towen ar to be remembrid the lawes of Severus, ²⁴ gyven out to the worlde when hee lay heer as in the moste meet place to manage this whole iland. The mother of great Constantyne called Scte Helyne was borne and som saie buried heer. ²⁵ One peculyar Sct they had, & som yet holde in great regard, namyd St William of York, as in Rippon St Willfrede, in Knaresbroughe Scte Roberte; of thes I fynde nothinge memorable, but that the discente of many auncyent howses ar confused by the superstitius affectinge of thes names. ²⁶ To this humore of retayninge superstitius uses, howe improffitable soever to mortall or immortall life, the whole countrie is much adycted, the citty more, the women moste, amongst whome the absurd interpretacion of this text (the beleving man shall save the unbelevinge woman *et e converso*) is intertayned by she recusants, as a charme to save their husbands sowles, som of thes by a secret consent, som by a settled constraint, som against their husbands wills. As this is yll, so wolde to God yt were all.

But nowe to the more comendable or (as I may rather say) the lesse condemnable costomes, of which som contynewed till their causes be worne out, as a barbarus song they use called 'haymanha', by etymologie of the woord retayned from the Saxons tyme, and they use both heer in Yorke & from hence in many partes of the country, which carryeth semblance of great antyquity.²⁷ Against their princypall feaste, which they

^{21.} I mean of the comon chardges.

^{22.} As from the princes presence so far dystant from the good government used in London.

^{23.} Ther lybertis seldom seased by the same reson of distance, which is cause of much ill rule.

^{24.} Antiquities. York was the headquarters of the emperor Septimius Severus from 208 until his death there in 211. That the reign was also notable for the work of the jurists Papinian, Paulus and Ulpian is irrelevant to the emperor's presence at York.

^{25.} That Helena was born in York was the accepted view in Ryther's time, arising it seems from confusion with another Helen, who also had a son, Constantine. St. Helen was probably actually born at Drepanum in Bithynia, later renamed Helenopolis by her son, himself born at Naissus (Nis) in Dacia, though proclaimed Augustus at York.

^{26.} confusid names in often in use of one, as Rither by Willyames, becaus neer York; Plompton by Roberts, being neer Knars[borough]; Hutham by Johnes, because neer Beverley, wher St. John was a great manneyther the Bapt[ist] nor evang[elist] but a better man than eyther. St Cuthbert of Durham had allso many godsons in that country, but this is without our compas. The villages of Ryther, Plompton and Hotham are meant. 'St. Cuthbert's godsons' are in a different category, as is indicated by a space in the MS.

^{27.} The OED under 'Hogmanhay' quotes Hone, *Table Talk* (1827): 'The Hagman Heigh is an old custom observed in Yorkshire on New Year's Eve'. The words are given in C. J. Davison Ingledew, *The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire* (1860), headed 'Fragment of the Hagmena Song (as sung at Richmond, Yorks., on the eve of the New Year by the Corporation Pinder)'. The first verse runs: 'To night it is the New-Year's night tomorrow is the day, And we are come for our right, and for our ray, As we used to do in old King Henry's day. Sing, fellows, sing Hagman-heigh.' If the reference to King Henry is valid evidence of date, it seems clear that this or something like it is what Ryther had heard, though the earliest reference to the word or custom of Hogmanhay seems otherwise to have been at least a century later. The custom is mentioned in R. Chambers, *Popish Rhymes in Scotland* (1826-41) and Ryther clearly regarded the song as somehow papistical.

account to be Christmas, they crie 'Yule, Yule', & by this name they tearme that tyme or feast, nowher in the south parts used that ever I cwolde heer. This cry I suspect to have ben lefte in this cytty by the Roman garrison, who in their greatist feasts & tryumphes cried 'Iule', after the usurpid empier of Julius Cesar, whom the flatteringe harroldes or antiquaries of that age persuaded to be lynyally com from Iulus the soon of Aenaeas, callid allso Askanyus. The rest of ther emporrs successivlie of longe tyme in their solemnities obsarvid this crie in their armyes to straighten their crokad rightes & titles to the empier.

The Latyne word *conspicuum* hath no wher els any one Inglishe worde to bear the full sence of yt but heer, wher theie terme a thinge 'conspek' or 'konsperk', which differencyth ytself from another thinge by spetiallty. ²⁹ Allso we have 'commater' for a woman gossip or godsyb. ³⁰ Oure mesures of the year by moneths, weekdaies, howers & mynutes took most their particular name from the Romans, our use of gyftes, the first of January consecratid to Janus, supposed Saturnus, our costom of kissing allso cam from their *paterfamilias*, by which he proved if his women had dronke wyne in his absence—but this generall to Ingland, these partycular to us. ³¹ Many olde, absolet Inglish woords we use, & som therfore more trewe, as 'yea' for *etiam*, where the south partes use both for *ita* & *ego* to say only 'I'. ³² Lykewise water is ther called 'burne', ³³ so called in older tyme about London, as Holeburne, which soundeth 'hollowe burne', for so we terme hollowe yet by the name of howle; this in tymes past was of lyke a lyttell brok runynge into Thamys before the conductes had taken up the springes, to other uses & coorses. The comon sort delight greatly in olde propheses, which comonly com to passe before they be spoken of. ³⁴

The shier that shold feach his cyvilytie from this cytty must be intreated to seeke somwhat further towardes the soon, for hardly can they have any to spare for other that lacke for them selves, and if in any one thinge we shold generally desarve comendacion

28. They call Christmas Yule & use yt after carrolls, but most on the even at their doores. Iule or yule hath no affinity with British, Danysh, Saxon or French languages, of all which ours is a motley or medley; if the Saxons used the word ys not rather from the Romans then proper. This woord Yule or *Iule* is made two sillables in all Latyn pronowncings by deriving I from U. *Io pean*, was discontynewed by the use of this cry, being before usid in the Roman reioysinges.

29. See OED and Wright (English Dialect Dictionary) under 'kenspeck'. Wright's definition 'a thing known by some striking mark' is close to Ryther's 'Of Scandinavian origin, but the immediate source is uncertain' (Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology). 'Some have suggested confusion with conspicuous, but evidence is wanting'.

30. Syb is kinréd in our partes, wherof godsib. Som maye supose this woord 'commacer' to com from the French word *commere*, but the French wordes ar more retayned in the south partes, as 'curfewe' for *cover fue* etc. 'Cummer' is of Romance, ultimately Latin, origin.

31. kissinge devised for contynence abusyd to incontynence. The frequency of kissing in England was noted with surprise by a number of foreign travellers, such as Nicholas von Poppelau, a Silesian knight who travelled up through England to visit Richard III in Yorkshire in 1484 and records that kissing went on in the house, the street, and quite openly in church (Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum III, 364). Erasmus, experiencing it in 1499, approved of the custom.

32. Both etiam and ita may, in certain contexts, serve as equivalents to 'yes'. Ryther claims that the use of 'yea' in the north is 'more trewe' (less confusing) than the southern use of a single sound - 'I' (Aye) for both 'Yes' (ita) and 'I' (ego).

33. Further northe they use yt for a generall name to all lyttell ryvers. som say olde burne. Holborn (Oldborne in Stow, *Survey of London*, Everyman ed., 12) means 'burn running in a hollow'. 'Howle' is still used for 'hollow' in North Yorkshire, whence Wright quotes: 'That coo leuks varra howl, sha must hev had next ta nowt to yeat'. 'Soundeth' means 'signifies', as again below, n. 63.

34. [Shi]pton which was a late pro[p]hetesse amonge them; [t]her superstition is in pretence; [th]ey can never want lieders. 'According to tradition, the famous Yorkshire sibyl, Mother Shipton, was born in Knaresborough, near to the Dropping Well, in 1488. Her maiden name was Southiel, and at the age of 24 she married Tobias Shipton, a builder, of Shipton, near York. Her prophecies long maintained a reputation, and many flights of her prophetic imagination are still related in the neighbourhood. She died in 1561, aged 73 years.' (Sheahan, J. J., History and topography of the Wapentake of Claro, Beverley, 1871, 111n.) To Ryther 'prophecy' would have smacked of Popery.

yt restith in the common love we have to retayne olde usagis in language & other lyke. Least therfore I tast to muche of Kente, my native countrie, pardon me (renownyde senator) to commende the love of antiquitie and olde thinges which, if don with discreacion & judgement and without superstition, no dout yt desarvith well of God and man, for the most ancyent the more noble, as God the most noble because the most ancyent; and of religioun who douteth the most ancyent in eyther lawe to be most perfect & trewe & with tyme to have woron into imperfections & untrewths by mans corrupt condycion.35 And so, thoughe we see not into the deepe sounde of our owen soules, yet oft we grope at a greater reach into thes highe & hevenly thinges then our owen resons can unfolde; so doth our earthly grossness opresse the inward intentions of our myndes & devine motions that more we retayn remembrance of the woorse & forget the better.

Thooghe many decaid even in our daies, yet many ancyent famelies remaine in this countrie, and those deerly belovid of the peoples adioyninge. Yt harrieth reson that the uttermost placis from the princes abode in all partes of this kingdom sholde keepe & contynew the most nombre of auncyent howses, quia prope principes semper diuturnior vicisitudo. The cause is at hande; princes must be sarvid of such as they trust & need to have those they fynde faithfull neer about them; more sauf therefore ar the remote then thes neer seats of unstable inheritances in placis so affiancid to the princes favor, whose posterities with everie change ar for the most parte inforcid to alter or alltogether to forgo their such pocessions, as what more different then the disposytions of great princes. Whereof yt cam that the wise kinge said, 'Often chaunge of princes is a punyshment dewe to wicked people', but, as the psalmyst devinly said, 'It is neyther the favor of princes nor the pollycie of subjects that can establish the continewance of howses, but the groundwork of a good conscience'.36

The gentillmen generally have active bodies and no doubt toward dispositions to good partes of the mynde, but by the remysse educacion of indiscreet parents they fall to rude pastymes befor they learne cyvill behavior. Their most unyversall exersise is huntinge, in whiche they contende about the coonnynge of their howends and speed of their horses. This emulacion doth breed in younge men many contentius woords, and not all trewe, and as this pastyme performyth reddy bodyes, 37 so for the most part yt maketh rash and unmyelde myndes, as the sacred letters wittnesse of Esau, that he was robustus venator coram deo.38 Yet, after the trewe God was forgotten, the most ancyent pagan nobylyty in yowth were used to this as a recreation and to justice as a skole learnynge, meanynge by thes two institutions to make their bodies and myndes meet for warres abrode & for peace at home.

Thes gentillmen ar valyant, as allso ar the comon sort if led by such as they love and knowe;39 a lyke desier of praise holdinge all sortes doth greatly forward this hardynes. They smother & smothe the faultes of ther kynred all they can, by which yt falleth out they breede many and great. 40 For as them selves, so they love to heer such thinges as they

- 35. The old lawe was wonderfully corupted at Crists commynge, & growen into many sects.
- 36. Scito proverb. 28. Nisi dominus edificaverit domum etc. fortunate senex ergo tua rura manebunt. The references are to Proverbs 28, 2: 'For the transgressions of a land, many are the princes thereof; to Psalm 127, 1: 'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it'; and to Virgil, Eclogues 1, 46.
- 37. Only the earle of Comberland hath by nature such gifts in temperance contrary to thes humors as ar woorthe his callinge. In the races of houndes and horses ar seen prehemynence & differencis commynge by kinde. Temporance is by Plutaek termyd the most auncyent vertue. George Clifford (1558-1605) inherited the title as third earl in 1570. 'Gifts in temperance' can only be regarded as blatant flattery of a court favourite, buccaneer, spendthrift and gambler. What purpose Ryther thought such a glaring falsehood would serve in his relations with Burghley is a question to which no answer can be offered.
- 38. Nimrod was a 'mighty hunter before the Lord' (Genesis X, 9); Esau was 'a cunning hunter, a man of the field' (ibid. XXV, 27).
- 39. Youth was never generally in Ingland so letterd as now, so lernyd I cannot say by all, for som by singularyty ar so hie mountyd upon their owen conceyts as from great scope they com to greevus falles.
- 40. To cover faultes is to quench a fire with reedes.

have property in comendid, out of which roote springeth the great famyliarytye between the maysters and ther men, sarvinge ther for rather for showe then use, amongst whom a nombre flatteringe and famylier may be founde before one dylligent or faithfull. We ar ernyst in trifles & triflinge in earnyst, in language and hospitallyty more lyberall then provident or orderly; by this & by evell educacion of younge gentillwomen many houses ar shaken & som overthrowen. Yet upon our small revennewes arisinge from lardge landes we might with order easyly maintayn moe people then in other countris they can do with greater rentes.

We love rather to take cortesy then to gyve yt, easily at the first fallinge into amytie, but more easyly afterwards alteringe into enmyty, as to and in the which we ar by nature more prone and constant. The further north the more subject to this falte, that I suspect to be borrowid of the borderers, wher all subtilitie, lycentiusnes and inhumane cruelty is used; as in all other nations the people of confynes carry the worst condicons. We are apt to partiall judgments, more gyven to envie then to emulat excellencies. Thes errors ar more comon to the meaner sort of gent, who for lack of learnynge think them selves by birth pryviledged to do what they list rather then bound to do what they ought. Yet with compassion I speak yt. Many of worthie parentage show no other tokens of nobylytie but their sylkes and surnames, but amonge such as com to good educacion thes faltes ar rare, and I fynde by recordes that our elders were better inclyned to actions of vertue and nothinge so subject to sensuallyties as nowe their ofspringes ar.

Plato said well, 'It is harde to prescribe lawes to such as lyve in prosperity'. 43 What can be inventid, what can be wished of God so perfett good but the perverse disposytion of man turneth yt to evell? Peace, which to mortall men is the most devyne gift under the hevens, by longe contynewance hath infectid our condicions with infirmyties infynyte, 44 and as the ayer not moved & tossed with the wyndes corrupte, to the confution of all lyvinge bodyes, so or such is longe peace to our earthly myndes, by which we verify thes

versis:

Longe caulmyd peace corruptyth all and vices woorse then warfes invade our myndes with sensuall thoughts and thirst of cyvyle jarres!⁴⁵

The Spanyard that by oposing hym self against God drowneth, ys by the same God used as an instrument to drawe us out of the seas of secure sensuallyty into which we begyn now to synk over the heds.⁴⁶

By reson of this generall appetite to huntinge the country is full of parkes and chasis, greatly stored with red & fallowe deer, with conyes, hares, fesaunts, partridges &

whatsoever beastes or foules for game or use. 47

The antiquities of gentillmen of this county ar a lardger theam then I can deall with by this determynacion. One thinge I have noted, that dyvers howses of the lowe leavill countries lyinge within daunger of waters for much of their demaine lands, do in armes

43. We ar growen wantons with peace & securyty.

44. Pax animae conscientia sana, unde illa universalis pax, si permanens, provenit.

45. Source not traced. The topic was, however, a commonplace, trotted out, for example, by Falstaff, 'the cankers of a calm world and a long peace' (I *Henry IV*, 4.2).

46. Res secundae necligentiam et foelicitatis fiduciam generant, sed adversae acunt indignatione quadam superborum hostium vigilantiam et ulciscendi aviditatem; cavendum ergo. Ryther refers to the failure of the Spanish Armada.
 47. Venery of great accompt for all kynde.

^{41.} Our idell servinge men scip by their defects of dillygence in deeds with flatteringe woords. Hic regnant famuli, domini famulantur. Aselli ornantur phaleris, dephalerantur equi. This is a stock complaint, voiced also more than once in The Anatomy of Melancholy where Burton quotes the Latin couplet (Everyman ed. II, 190). For the number of servants kept in the larger households, see Cliffe, J. T., Yorkshire Gentry (1969), 112.

^{42.} Dicat servata fides. How can wee or the Skottes be rych if this rule be trew?

bear moones, as Percy, Boyngton, Babthorp, Watterton, Rither &ce. 48

The comon people of this countrie ar by nature corteus & tractable, usinge more reverence and regard to straungers that passe amonge them then thes that lyve neerer the courte, wher such ar more in syght and wher yt is harde for plaine country people [or], a husbandsman, to knowe a sarvinge man from a gentillman, a gentillman from a noble man, by any their apparell or outward aparancis. (I wolde I might not say allso by their behavyors, not by the meaner aspiringe, but by the greater imbasinge their demeanors farr beneath their degrees.) This indiscretion of persons not desernable makyth their respect least wher yt sholde be most.⁴⁹

Thes people ar much given to gamynge and to tryall of activities; idellness is a generall falt in which they ar from youthe investid by want of educacion and contynewid in yt by their lardge unimployde commons, which sholde be lefte greate ynof, thoughe every idell person had a compotent portion wherwith to folde hym self occupied & to profytt his country.

As Cham the secrets of his father, ⁵¹ so may I seem to uncover the naked deformyties of my mother country, in thes passed & som speeches followinge, further then becomyth me. Pardon me (noble counsellor) to lay open thes malladies that cannot be hidden, ⁵² to a phisition of a knowen & aprovid skill to cure such infirmyties, offeringe myself as a simple drudge, yet with clean hands to carry such confections as by your Lordships moste skillfull dyrection may do good; and a moste easy matter will yt be founde in fewe daies to helpe many of thes hurtes by assistaunce of such auctory as may rightly be resemblid to the soon, whose beames ar of feeble force for light or heat in our clymate, such a baren shadowe is the absence of a gracius soveraigne so far distant. ⁵³

O pater, O patriae, per te florentis imago pergito, te semper deus et tua coepta secundet etc. vir bonus et sapiens fortunas imperat omnes⁵⁴

Bie reson of this idellnes allso they ar much gyven to intertayn slaunders, to rayse reportes, and to increase rumors of newes perillus, and not seldom seditius. ⁵⁵ By beinge somtymes in Hartfordshier I see a straunge effect that this idellnes woorketh in our countrymen: the husbandman of Hartfordshier doth in effect twice the labor dayly that our pesaunt doth, but see the force that this lazie humor hath to weken her followers; the Yorkshierman beinge rather the byger of stature, lyker of lym to be stronge every way, yet with more paine & strayninge doth use to lyft but half a quarter of corne then the Hertfordshier man a whole quarter, & seldomer is he seen to do yt. ⁵⁶

- 48. The reference to moons (crescents) might have interested Burghley since the Cheke arms of his first wife were 'argent, three crescents gules', similar to those of Ryther (azure, three crescents or). Burghley 'constantly referred to descents of the leading families and to maps showing their county seats' (Palliser, D. M., *The Age of Elizabeth* 1983, 319). The arms of Percy, Boynton, Babthorpe, Waterton and Ryther are among the 450 shields of Yorkshire gentry on the frieze painted for Sir William Fairfax in 1585 around the great chamber at Gilling (Bilson, J., 'Gilling Castle', *YAJ* 19 (1907), 105-92). The marginal note is *Luna domina aquarum*. Crescents much born in Armes.
- 49. 'Indiscretion of persons not desernable': the fact that one cannot see any difference between them.
- 50. Fewe freeskooles. Unimployed people and groundes begyt idellnes; idellnes is mother to all incomodyties and inconvenyencies, to any comonwealth most pernytius.
- 51. For Cham (Ham), see Genesis IX, 22.
- 52. I wish that my country wolde make a glasse of this to see them selves in, & to reforme ther deformyties by.
- 53. Nocent male frugibus umbrae. Virg[il]. (Eclogues 10, 76).
- 54. A pastiche: the first line combines two from Ovid (*Tristia* II, 574 and V, iib, 49); the second may be a reminiscence of Seneca (*Hercules Furens* 649); the third, added in the MS as an afterthought, has not been traced.
- 55. The discent & pettigre of idelnes.
- 56. But all thes faltes ar easy to mende if such as wolde take yt in hande might have maintenance by auctory[ty].

This humor erectith and maintayneth many alchowses, the hachers of yll rule and harberers of our woorst disposed persons. The sises of bred and drynk ar not kept that I can see in any parts of the country. Highwaies not regardid wher neerist and most easy helpes ar, so in placis scarce passable they toile them selves & their cattell with their owen lazynes. Measures for corne ar not only different in every markett towen, but in some one towen moe discordinge measures then the shier hath severall markett towens within yt; the lyke difference of our quantities in oxgangs & acares.

Sarvauntes, thoughe fewe good, yet all daintie and yll to please. Yt is seen dayly that such of thes as com to sarve in other countries before they be investid in this idell ease prove painfull, dylligent, and trewe, and abyde in one place, wher with us they for the more parte they chaunge their maysters yearly, huntinge after more wages and lesse labor, till they remove to the rope or beggarie. Much to blame for this ar the marketts and faiers in which they ar suffred to go sell them selves, wher men and women servants make appointments to place them selves comodyusly the year ensuing, to the

oppertunyties of lose lyfe & other untrewths.

By affynytie with the Skottes and borderers thes people delight in a rude & wilde kinde of musick, to which ar sewtable rymes and songs entewnyd and soonge eyther of wanton or warlyke actions. By our invention in thes easyly is dysernyd our distance from the soon: Nos sumus inculti, nobis nil spirat Apollo. We love yet to put thinges into ryme, howe far from reason soever. Shall I sport your Lordship with a short poem which I learnyd in passinge over a ryver that devideth a towen called Howk from the parish church called Snathe? The tyme used to myrth must plead myne excuse—this yt is:

Yf thoue dye at Howk, to Snath mun thy bowk

In an olde cogge, mun thy bones rogge

Be thoue never so wood, thoue mun byde the flood. 61

Poema quidem, sed rudi satis Minerva compositum, yet if notyd with a more narrow or deepe insight then your Lordship usually gyveth to such, this epigram carieth a reach into fiction beyonde all reson, by which it bringith in a ded man raginge. Only the Welchmen, of all other the inhabytants of this ysle, ⁶² ar able to mach us if not to overmach us in thes, as their epytaphs of Welch kinges extant in many auctors can testify. ⁶³ By which or by som lyke emulacion in exellencyes the two nations, northren & welsh, ar auncyently oposyte; yt is rare a Welshman to inhabyt the north partes. This woord 'walsh' sholde seem to be Saxon, & that parte of Germany callyd Wallisher is not unlyke Wales; 'Walsher' is yet among the Duch an usuall name of reproche, soundinge barbarus or straunge—but no further in this least I lay open a northren humor. ⁶⁴

57. Servaunts sewrly fed, slenderly taught.

58. Love of eas ingendryth idellnes, the mother of all evell in all estates.

59. By the time of Henry Best's Farming Book of 1641 (Surtees Soc., XXIII, 132-6) movement of servants was controlled by the constables who were charged with ensuring that those who sought new places had been provided with a ticket of release by their former masters.

60. Chawsero teste in the parsons prologg. 'I am a Southren man, I can nat geste - rum, ram, ruf - by lettre, Ne,

godwat, rym holde I but litel bettre' (Prologue of the Parson's Tale, 41-3).

61. The ryver ebbyth & flowith. Prosopopaea: fictio persona loquentis sed subintellegitur mortui. Cogg: a bote; bowk: a body; the poet: a nody. 'Another form which the foundation of chantries took was the provision of chapels of ease in large and scattered parishes. Where a river, often in flood, divided the parish this was very necessary. On the lower reaches of the Aire, Whitley Chapel was founded in Kellingham parish ... and Airmyn, Carlton, Hook and Rawcliffe in Snaith' (V.C.H. Yorkshire III, 42).

62. Chawsero teste: northern men love to ryme. See Prologue of the Parson's Tale, II. 41-3.

- 63. Professor R. R. Davies writes: 'Welshmen often traced their descent back to princely families and their anxiety to do so was a source of considerable amusement to Englishmen, who taunted them with 'overmuch boasting of the Nobilitie of their stocke'. One very familiar source for these stories was Giraldus Cambrensis' *Description of Wales* I, 17. This may, directly or indirectly, have been the source of Ryther's comment'.
- 64. Yt shold seem that the Saxons forced the Britons into the wyeld strengthes of Wales. Wallisher is presumably the Valais (German, Wallis). Welscher, from the Volcae, a Gallic tribe in S. France, came to be used of Celts in general and may also carry a peiorative sense: welschen 'to speak double Dutch'.

Our poore ar without nombre or order. We breed of all sortes much faster then they do further south; so we reed that all northerne & colde regions increase people in more aboundance then the hotter have don, as may appear by their superfluus nombres sent into Fraunce & Ittally & plantyd in Normandy and Lombardy. Sir Christopher Metcalf in his shirifwyck was reported to bringe into Yorke skores of his owen name, but our borderers have hundreth of one name, for base and right begotten go all in lyke accompt with them. This cometh to passe amonge thes by their lycentius lyves, who without all regarde of devyne or human lawes begett for the dyvell many tennants. Yet see the force of good life, what yt workith even amonge thes myscreants. Good Barnard Gilpine, undertakinge to be an apostell to convert thes, was beloved, honored and regardid of them; amonge thes did this holly man allwais feast in Chrissmas with cold and hunger, hard fare and homly lodginge, in contynewall fear & doubt of his life, woorse then death yt self. This may sarve for an ey ensample what care & discreation in a churchman, with the assistance of a clean life, can woork even in our woorst people.

Ingland is praisid of Erasmus because they make choise of their byshops for gravyty & learning, where other countries more for byrthe & pollytique respects of worldly affaiers; but I wish our bishopps wolde make as good choise of discreet mynysters, for by such we see dayly that our country people ar easily drawn to amendment of manners & religion, ⁶⁹ wher the undiscreet do dayly dryve away many. Learninge and perswasion will lytell availe with our people if love and good lyfe be absent, and when thes byshops have sett up good lights they must be as vigillent to snoof their candells, or els som will soon wax dym with wordly desiers. ⁷⁰

But learninge for the more parte with us bearith no price, as a matter of no momente in martiall doinges; lack of learninge breedeth this absurde opynion, for yt is evedent that no one proffession hath more use of all artes then the myllytary. The Romaines that overan all nations by this skill & their conduct can best wittnes; by only eloquence what myndes thes did inspier into their soldyars we marvell that reed, ⁷¹ and by their owen testymonys we may see that they did meet with more mighty people in this land then them selves brought. But science doth allwais overcom: ⁷² Ulyxes not Aiax entrd Troy; not force, but wisdom in choise of advantage, slewe Hector; the cyvell & wise did allwais subject the ignorant and barbarus. But wee may better see the idole of this error by the French, from whom of lyke we had yt, then by beholdinge our selves, for that sight

os. By a dyrection from your Honor this was lately well reformed. Our exactions ar allso without equallyty, order or ende. The 'direction' is presumably a letter sent in December 1588 (*Privy Council Acts* 1588, 371-2). 'Our exactions': the payments required of us landlords.

- 66. Thes infidells holde a straunge superstition: when they go about any action of thefte or murder, in the enterprise wherof ther is difficultie or daunger, they use to say a charm which they terme a spell, a longe rable of woordes with some saints names in yt, without any reson or sence. If he go thourough, not stomblinge or faylinge in delyvery of that spell, he beleveth no space & goeth forward; but if he trip or faill he will not attempt yt that day but nothinge is to be imagined so odyus to God or man but this people will execute yt. Sir Christopher Metcalf of Nappa, Wensleydale (1513-74) was Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1555-6.
- 67. Gilpin (1517-83), 'the Apostle of the North', was known personally to Burghley, who had visited him at Houghton-le-Spring, County Durham, in June 1560, on his way to Scotland. See *D.N.B.* XXI, 378.
- 68. Suadet vita loquentis non oratio.
- 69. Northern people easy to drawe but hard to drive to any alteracion.
- 70. If our northern bishops &c had com into the north before our Welch bishops I am persuadid our papists had ben fewe in that parte of Inglande, yet inter animalia quaedam irrationalia papisma malum est immedicabile. But indifferently I may affirme that this country hath not ben forunat to many magistrates that have found out the vaynes & rught humors of thes people & therfore the further from workinge them to good effects.
- 71. Ryther refers no doubt to the speeches which Livy and other ancient historians inserted in their narratives for literary effect.
- 72. If force & not wisdom were to be reputed valour, I see not but a bull or a horse sholde be more valyant then a man, that by only wisdom doth manage & subdew thes.

shalbe without favor or partiall affection.

The French men condinne lettres as men borne to the magnanymus actions of Mars; indeed of their owen doinges they ar without all dout magnyloquente; but the Romanes who had best experience of all nations gave this sensure that the French man was *primo impetu plus quam vir* but bear that, say they, and furthewith you shall fynde hym weaker then a woman. To Doth not our Inglish adage confirme this, callinge yt a French bragge when a man settyth a nocion upon a thinge he cannot performe out? Lyvie, whose indifferency all nations justly admyre, in many partes of his stories stayneth the French with this trewe report, that of all Hanyball[s] campe they carryed the most fainte hartes & feeble bodyes. So we see the Frenchman is in this iudgment lyke wise as in matters myllytary he showeth him self woorthie. Let us then leve thes Galles or *caupones* to their vawnts & vaine conceites & learne of Themystocles that no nombre nor force of barbarus peopell can overwhelme wisdom & conduct, and of the same man take that trew patren of loyalltie to our country, be yt never so ingrat or unkinde to us.

The Clothiers

But nowe to our comonallty of Yorkshier againe. As marchaintes in makinge showes, so have I kept the best common people of this county laste. 77 Our clothiers, that inhabyte all the groundes betwen Wakefelde and Westmorland, ar the comliest personagis for partes of the bodie, ablyst in substance, best gyven for offices of the mynde, & by tradinge southward of more cyvylytie then their consorts of degree. As thes the rest, so Hallyfax exellith thes. 78 Nothinge more notable amonge us then the dyverse disposytions of peoples, so lyttell distant in place, so farr dyfferinge in all inclynations, so contynewaly conversant, so auncyently contrary in every condicion, so that yt is to be marvelled that neyther their industry sholde ensample us nor our idelnes infect them. Thes inhabytants of Hallyfax ar plantid amonge our most stony & baren mowtayns, west from York somwhat upon the south in the edge of Lankashier, 79 thes I saie exell the rest in pollycy and industrie for the use of their trade & groundes, and after the rude and arrogant manner of their wilde country, they surpas the rest in wisdom and wealth. Thes dispise their olde facions if they can heer of a newe more comodyus, rather affectinge novelties then affied to olde ceremonyes. Only the auncyent custome of beheding such as ar aprehendid for thefte without tryall after the course of lawe they ar dryven by the same need & necessities to contynewe that enforsed them to take yt up at the first. 80 Other wise their trade in that wilde place wolde not have ben. Yt sholde seem that desier of praise & sweetnes of their dew comendacion hath begoon & maintayned amonge thes people a naturall ardency of newe inventions annexid to an unyealdinge industry in their faculty of clothe & by enforcinge grounds beyond all hope to fertyllyty, so that if the rest of the country inhabyting better soils wolde in this followe them but a far of the force & wealth

- 73. Amongst other thinges, the verie dogges of Ingland ar more hardie then Fraunce can bred any.
- 74. Favorinus, the orator & philosopher of Athens, was by the woorld woondred at for iij things: first, that beinge an ewnuk he was accused of adult[ery]; beinge in enmytie with the emporer he lyved; & beinge a Frenchman that he was learnyd. The French ar the most untrewe reporters & unfaithefull translators of any that write. Favorinus (c. 80-150) was a rhetorician and historian, in his later years reconciled with the emperor Hadrian.
- 75. Livy; e.g. xxii, 2.4ff. 'Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae ut est mollis ad talia gens dilaberentur'.
- 76. Hucksters or tradesmen.
- 77. Thes people ar sore oprest nowe with robberis, as they have ben in tymes past promotors.
- 78. Halyfax.
- 79. The remaine of the great famely of Lacy, somtymes Earles of Lyncolne, were drvven hethr, wher they yet lyve.
- 80. Necessity by increase of evell hath from tyme to tyme straightned lawes; bie cuttinge of thes heds they cutt of much untruth that the rest of the country is trobled with. The coonnyng bankrupts of London did lately shake the people sore. This last remark seems to refer again to the practice alluded to in the description of York.

of Yorkshier wolde be soon dubled. In one instance, see but the very shambles of their towen; yt is incredyble howe far the towen of Hallyfax exellith Yorke in utteringe much and good meat. Thes people were with the first well affected to religion, so that in the begyninge of Her Maiestys most happie reigne yf not hence yt was hard for a mynyster elswher in that county out of honest life & parentage to feach a wyfe. Thes people have great lybertie to inclose & buyld upon the wastes about their towen by reson they do for the more parte appertaine to the Crowen,81 and all our lawes and statutes of Inglande favor inclosures as for comon comoditie, and condemne unimployed soyles as a cancar to the commonwealth. In other partes of the countrie to maintayne the poorer sort in their idellness they hold this use: if any man pocessed of lardge wastes wolde improve, thoughe not so much as by lawe he may, furthwith the richer sort (who indeed suck out the frewt of thes commons from the poore) will send in all the poore who inhabyt neer to make outcries to the magistrat that they ar undon, and thes people for the more parte have not any thinge to put out of their doores that can lyve upon thes wastes; so ar the symple made instruments to keepe them selves under and unable to lyve of them selves, 83 so that the dyfferent effect is most woorthie the notinge: no parte of the countrie yealdith so many rich men as the most barren, no parte so many poore as the most fertill.

In our westerne partes favoringe the south & short of the mountayns, 84 ar reported to inhabyt a perillus fraternytie of people, not all of the comonalty, greatly redouted propter venalem fidem. I wish all other partes were free, but this in experience that hardly any right will passe by verdict unles by means made to som of thes, for comonly their consciencis cannot discerne cause from cooller without som pryvat & sensible instrutions, unles the judges see thorough their mystes, which they shall have much to do, & when they do

som tymes more hard to make yt go right.85

Nowe from this plaine lett us passe on by the rivers sides (which ar thyck sett with gentillmens howeses) & so assende to the mountaines more north, 86 wher we shall fynde amonge the comonalty a trewe, symple, plaine people, yet lyvinge without any great labor or riches, for the more upon their mylke & sheep; their grayn they have growinge is otes only, of which they make both bred & drinke. Thes ar stronge, tall people; they have much fyne & fertill pasture & meddowe, som in their hilltops; againe they have som grounde that will bear no kynde of graine - I think because so neer the mydell region87 woodes fewe and those miserae frutices, arbusta non silvae, such shrubs as one wolde suppose durst not looke out of their rootes for colde. Hic mira coeli inclementia: their aier is so intemperat & extream colde as they differ from the plaine country not x myles distant from them viij weekes often in the tyme of their harvest. Their corne rypneth with the frost as ours with the soon; their great mowtaines they call 'felles', of which the adiectyve 'fell', usually added to thinges exedinge measure.

The east mountains towards the north⁸⁸ ar neyther so fertyll nor replenyshed with

^{81.} The most rich & populus countries hav lest commons. One acar manured yealdyth more frewt to the comon wealth then tenn next adioyninge to yt doth if not tilled nor inclosed.

^{83.} Talis belua vulgus.

^{84.} Jurors. Much corruption sufferd; som maintayned great boldnes in attemptinge to corrupt wyttnessth anextance at som handes. The causes of this other great inormytys not meet for me to deall with, & more.

^{85. &#}x27;means made' = 'palms greased'; 'cause from cooller' = 'fact from verbiage'; 'sensible instrutions' = 'hard cash'.

^{86.} The west mountayneys more north then Hallyfax. One thinge may wittnes the guyde disposytion of thes people: from my house to their furthest parte, which is L myles, ther hath ben but one Justice of Peace this last year & he not desierus to labor in that function. This J.P. was perhaps Richard Mauleverer of Arncliffe.

^{87.} The Vale of York; the meaning is presumably that the dalesmen would not sow grain up the dales when it grew so much better in the Vale.

^{88.} Blakamore.

ryvers as thes, yet more plentifull of victuall by reson they reach to a sea more fishfull then the west & have not so many towens in their wastes, 89 North from this is Hartlipoole, 90 in som question whether under the bishop of Durham or no. This by extancy of ruyns carrieth showe to have ben a great & populus towen & hath had harber for ships within her walles. Their church is great, to the which they in their florishinge tyme did forbyd their fyshermen to com; they were so proude & fyne that they cwolde not abyde the smell of their founders, wherupon ther fishers erectid them selves a proper church without the walles, which is yet extant thoughe yt hath not ben occupied thes many years, for the other church wold nowe easyly contayn the people of iij such towens, and fallen againe to so poore a fysher towen from such prosperity, as their best sort nowe ar the sonnes they thrust out before for their outcastes, and if nowe they diskard fishers bothe their churches & towen shalbe emptie. In effect, so hatefull to God is the insence of pride to even such prosperyty as he sendyth. 91 This towen is towards the sea rocky; from the land the passage not broad & easie to trench; many springes of fresh water within the towen which ar open at every eb & covered with a full sea by the salt water; yt sholde seen a perillus parte for the enymy to fortifie. 92

The hilles called Yorkeswold lyenge southe from thes ar not so great nor baren, all champion, bearing good corne, medowe and pasture espetially good for sheep, yet so skarce of wood & fuell of any kinde to burne as their husbandmen use strawe both for fier & candelles.⁹³

Next to thes by south standith the old towen of Beverly, ⁹⁴ for fish, foule & other utynsell of lyvelyhode not to be mached in the northe and, as som say, in Ingland. Heer the Londoners yearly in springe tyme contynewe a faier supported by the improvidencis of Yorke & Hull to fech money from us, which them selves might take & so keepe amongst us.

Holdernes is a levill fatt countrie lyinge lowe & eaten away with the sea, as som suppose much; this, as allso other landes in that county, belonged to Willyam de Fortibus or Force, Countie Albymer & Devon, & Lord of the Isles, when the north had no more earles then Lancaster & hym. 95

The pope had great interest by his usurped intrution amonge thes northern people. As in Ireland & other rude, symple & uncyvell regions of the worlde he was most wellcom & ever best belovid wher he was least knowen. At such tyme as Ingland was interdighted

89. The further north the more fish, in which the Skotishe writers only bost to exell us.

90. Hartyllpoole. Its fishermen were 'remarkable for their strange dress, their primitive ignorance and their courteous manners (Eden, Sir T., *Durham* ii, 524). The development of trawling brought the same problem of the smell of fisherfolk in church to Brixham, where a gallery with outside staircase and entrance was constructed for them at the end of the eighteenth century.

91. God so hates the odour of pride that he spreads evenly such prosperity as he sends.

- 92. The sytuacion of this towen is most lyke to St Sebastyans in Spayn, alius domniostyen. In 1569 rebels held Hartlepool in the hope that the Duke of Alva would come to their aid; it was no doubt also felt to be a danger at the time of the Armada. San Sebastian seems a surprising comparison; when coupled with the fact that he had apparently heard some form of the Basque name Donostia, it strongly suggests that Ryther must himself have been there.
- 93. The wolde. Thes hills ar severed from Blackamore by a littell countrie called Pickering Lythe.

94. Beverley. Lyvelyhode.

- 95. Holdernes. Much of the Earle of Comberlands lands were of this Earl Albymarle, which he had of the King for landes in Wales, of lyke to bridell the burly Welchmen which were in those days unruly. William de Fors, Earl of Albermarle (pre-1220-1260). Through his marriage to Christina, younger daughter of Alan, Earl of Galloway, he established a claim to a third of that earldom on Alan's death. Hence, no doubt, 'Lord of the Isles'.
- 96. Unde Beda, Erasmo teste, seinge room for the reports sake, was apposid as a lernyd man to interpret their common inscription S.P.Q.R., said yt signyfied stultus populus quaerit Romam. This Beda was called venerab[il] is for the regard given hym by learnyng, then so rare in these partes of the world. The unyversity of Parris (now dunsicall by the doting sorbonysts) was founded by the medyation of ij scolers, Frensh of greate blud, brought up with Bede. Ryther's attempt to establish that Bede was as 'well affectid to religion' as the people of Halifax need not be taken seriously. Sorbonysts (of the Sorbonne) were members of the faculty of theology of the University of Paris, called 'Dunsicall' as adherents of the philosophical system of Duns Scotus (d. 1308).

the popes curse cam into the partes next Kendall so out of breath and tyered that he cwolde not tell his tale right; ther the inhabytants, mystakinge this far carried report, supposed the curse did only extend upon their pasture, medowe and arrable groundes then in use, all which they left & took up such quantyty of their comons as suplyed for their compotent sustynaunce, which at this day may be seen by their wastes & written recordes. A curse woorkinge such effect in som partes of the countrie were no mean blessinge for the great increase & comon comodyty it wolde yealde. 97

In many churchyardes ar founde two crosses of stone, as for the more parte one standinge in every; in the churches of those som constantly affirme that St. Augustine preachid (I thinke they mean hym that Bede takith for our apostell), but by thes monuments their opinions ar more upholden that affirme this Augustyn rather to have revived then erectid religion heer, as testifieinge by their two crosses a kinde of reconsecration to Christe. 98

At a towen called Gigleswicke, ⁹⁹ sytuat amonge the west mowntayns, I have seen a cave goinge into a rock by a longe entrie whose end I cwold not see; the foreparte is lyke a great doore or gate, very highe & hydden in a lyttell wood of my Lord of Comberland; this cave is called Arthures Hall. ¹⁰⁰ Neer to this towen is a straunge springe of water coming out of the foot of the same clif or rock, which ebbyth & flowyth somtymes a foote hier and lower without any order or constant coorse & unlyke other springes yssewinge from under the same cleef, which holde a rate certaine of their quantytyes of water. By observaunce yt is notyd that this varyenge springe against faier wether and drought doth increase & decrease oftner, as somtymes iiij chaunges in an ower; against fowell it is seen to alter seldomer.

Knarisbroughe, an old towen standinge neer the mydest of Yorkshier, ¹⁰¹ hath in yt an auncyent castell byldid at divers tymes and sytuat upon a rock hanginge over the river of Nydd. Within this castell ther is an old ruynus tower callid Blaunch tower, more notable by a rent bearing the name of the Blaunch farme, lyenge upon most partes of that countrie, payed yet, but to divers other places. This howse was before the conquest a resyancy for kinges, since for the Eerles of Cornwall, ¹⁰² lastly belonginge to the Dukes of Lankaster.

97. The 'pope's curse' refers to the interdict placed on Henry VIII, not on the whole country, in 1535. Ryther's merry tale has not been traced elsewhere.

98. In Whalley churchyard there were stone crosses called St. Augustine's in 1308. In the Abbey Plain at Whitby an old stone cross may once have stood as a second cross in the adjoining churchyard (V.C.H. Yorkshire, North Riding, ii, 508). The earliest standing stone crosses in England are of the later seventh century.

99. Heer dwellyth Mr Shoot, a dyscreet and lernyd preacher, greatly profytyng all sortes by good lyf, good lessons, & the youth by letters in that wield country. Christopher Shute, Vicar of Giggleswick 1576-1626 (and master of its grammar school 1615-19). The 'painfull vicar of Giggleswick' is one of T. Fuller's Worthies of England.

100. The name 'Arthur's Hall' does not survive. Dr Butler suggests that the likeliest candidate amongst the caves in Giggleswick Scar is 'Cave Ha' at SD 789662, 'a huge rock shelter with an opening 30ft. high, 80ft. wide and 35 ft. deep' (A.D. Brook, G. M. Davies and M. H. Long, Northern Caves 2. Penyghent and Malham, 1982, 39-43). The ebbing and flowing spring (at SD 804653) has been noticed by many travellers, but this seems to be the earliest reference.

101. Knarisbrough, *id est* a rock-town. Neer to this in a rock lyved Robert the heremyt, & in the woods not farr of St Tile, a she hermit, of whom after in speech of Whitby Strand, wher she chasd over a clif into the sea all the venemus woormes of that part, so infest with them before as not habytable. Ovid, meta[morphoses]. The Blaunch or White Tower was that at the S.W. corner of the castle. The derivation of Knaresborough from ME *knar*, a rock, is very reasonable for the period, though not accepted by modern experts, who derive it from the personal name Cenheard.

102. Stutyvile Comes Cornubiae. Robert d'Estutville succeeded to the Lordship of Knaresborough in 1138 and was succeeded by his son William in 1177, in turn succeeded by his son-in-law Hugh de Moreville, one of the murderers of Becket (d. 1204). The first Earl of Cornwall to possess Knaresborough was

Richard, brother of Henry III, who granted him the castle and its appurtenances in 1234.

In the feeldes of Aldbroughe neer to Burrowbridge ar dayly found antiquities of coyne & other apparvuncis of som great cytty, as the stones lyke to pyramydes sett up ther do allso wittnes som mighty overthrowe gyven at the rasinge of that towen, ¹⁰³ for the Romanes did take of the Greeks erection of tropheies as monuments not easyly removable, to contynewe awe & obedyence of the subdued by an eye remembrance of their once or oftner overthrowe.

Amongst myne evedencis I fynde mention of an olde surname of a Saxon gent, called Altaripa or Altripe. This *alta ripa* is nowe a great towen in Germany calid by contraction of speech Altripe: yt standith upon an highe bank of the Reyn wher the Romans for strength of the place held their settlid camp when they subdewed that countrie and they namyng yt *altaripa*. By contynewance of ther abode & by that repaier of neccessaries brought to them to be solde yt grewe first to stations, then to shopps, & last to howesys. So to som persons of this place the Germans of lyke in their conquest of Ingland had gyven this name, whose ofspringes were remayninge heer after the Normans conquest. ¹⁰⁵

We retaine allso many names of countries & ryvers put to partes lyke theirs of Germany, as Clievland lyinge under the mountayns of Blackamore, a fertyll & flat country; Holland allso we have, so named of the Saxons; the ryver that we call Aer is lyke that of Germany so called in their vulgar tounge, Arola in Lattyn. Amongst our westerne people, wher sheep ar so benyfyciall, as the inhabytants for the most parte lyve only of them, ther remaineth a race of men called by the name Skaif, which in Highe Douch is a sheep, & thereof in their wielde hilles a cytty called Skaife husen, somtymes a sheepe folde or cote. 107

I had neer fogotten the droppinge well or spring nye to Knarisbroughe, ¹⁰⁸ so marvelled at by many, which, as I take yt, is no other then a kinde of sweate comynge from many rockes that ly under the grounde and returnes to a symylytude of stone againe by the ayer

103. Thes woords of many lettres in one syllable, as broughe, throughe, ar Saxon & High Douch; other languagis, & spetialy the Latyne, is tenuissimarum sillabarum, comonly consisting of only to letters & therefore more fyne & delightfull. The letters 'w' and 'th' ar wyttnessis of duch woords, for the French or Lattyne use them not often unles in borowid woordes. The 'stones lyke to pyramydes' are the Devil's Arrows on the outskirts of Boroughbridge, three Neolithic-Early Bronze Age monoliths. Leland (c. 1540) and Camden (1586) record that additional stones existed. Camden also mentions 'the silly story of their being bolts which the devil shot at some cities thereabouts, and so destroyed them', a story which Ryther had evidently heard and thought not so silly.

104. The 'Saxon gent' has not been traced (perhaps a name like Aldthrith, Ed.), but Altrip on the Rhine lies just south of Mannheim. The fourth-century Roman fort there was excavated by G. Bersu in 1928-33. alta

105. Rome herself, the mother of so many monuments to the worlde, was in the tyme of her paganry fine, vertuus & just for a long tyme, till, as Livy writheth, aboundance of riches overwhelmyd her with the vices of such nations as she had subdued. So, after her acceptance of Christian religion, St. Augustyn sayth Religio peperit divitias et devoravit matrem. Yt was therfore auncyently thus written of Rome in two versis followinge: Divicias qui sancte cupitis ascendite: Romae/immaculum liceat, non licet esse bonum. The reference is to Livy's Preface to his History. The clumsy expression and defective scansion of the couplet do not suggest any great antiquity.

106. Aer or Arola is the Aach, on which stands Radolfzell on the western branch of Lake Constance. The Latin name is medieval or modern.

107. Schaffhausen on the Rhine, some 40 km W. of Constance. Skaife as a family name occurs in Fewston township in the Forest of Knaresborough.

108. A kynd of people inhabytt the forest of this Knarisburugh that ar by a coonynge costom of their own setting were priviliged to geve her Maiesty so many of her ... [reading defective]. For the Dropping Well cf. John Evelyn's *Diary*, 20 June 1644 for a visit to caves near Colombières, where 'the dropps, meeting with some lapidescent matter, converts them into an hard stone, which hangs about it like Isicles; having many others in the forme of Comfitures & suggar plumms, as we call them'. Sir Hugh Plat's *Delightes for Ladies* (1604) contains a long description of 'The arte of comfetmaking, teaching how to cover all kinds of seeds, fruits or spices with sugar', including cinnamon sticks. I owe these references to the generosity of Mrs Elizabeth David.

& som subject or matter to take hold of, as sugar melted about an amon or about synamon cometh to the lykenes of yt self againe from lyquyde lyk water.

I have in thes partes seen stone and varyety of copper coyn stamped with the fisnomyes

of divers Romaine emporers & found in our dayes.

Thes names of Duncastre upon the river Dun, Loncaster upon Lune, & Tadcaster, Acaster &c, I suspecte to have taken their names of the Romaine castells or tentes, but in coniectures a man may more easyly shoot over & short then hitt the mark. 109 Thes such antiquities have I at adventure, without travell or search for that cause, only by observance seen into & sett dowen, restinge indifferent with my trewe or wronge conceyt of thes to informe or recreat your Lordships surchargid mynde with the waight of more grave matters. Only I wish that other thinges might answer my will in the desier I have to seek & record all the memorable monuments of this land.

Many other monuments ther ar, but so blemyshed by fablinge antiquitie that I dare not holde your Lordship with them: as St Tylds wormes figured in stone neer Whitby, wher they say no venemus serpent is seen; 10 Mowlgrave castell, somtymes duke Wades howse, whose grave of incredyble length is showed neer ther;111 the extancyes of our outlawe Robin Whood in Barronsdall neer Doncaster; & such lyke dyvers, so dymmed and defaced by long tyme & lacke of trewe writeres as they seem to me to resemble the vews of thinges so far distant from sight as no ey can deem rightly of their shape or substance, thoughe yt may be dymly percevid that som thinge ther is.

I have gyven in a sportinge accompt to your honor of my spare howers this Christmas, not commendinge thes contents to any better writinge then my bad hand afordithe, lest I lose such favor as nowe increasith from them, my countriemen, to me. I wolde flaturrie to their owen good, in seekinge to helpe that which they seek to hide. Jam veniam pro laude peto, laudatus abunde Non fastiditus si tibi lector ero. 112

potius offitii mei quam dignitatis tuae memor.

J. R.

110. St Hilda (614-80) founded Whitby Abbey soon after 650 and was abbess until her death. Her 'worms' are 'the petrified shell-fish called ammonites, which resemble snakes coiled up without heads' (G. Young,

History of Whitby (1817), 213).

112. Ovid. (Tristia I. 7, 31-32).

^{109.} Cester is british, but castrum or castra only Latyne. Whie thes woords of affynyty with the Latyne shold be only peculyar to the place wher the Romans lay I cannot see but by their leavinge them to a people that love olde usauncys. A modern reader, takes it as a matter of course that place-names in -cester etc mark Roman stations. Ryther evidently draws a distinction between '-cester' and '-caster' and takes the latter to have been deliberately used for Roman sites by a people wishing to preserve its heritage.

^{111. [}Mulgrave] is in showe that best howse I know but Pendragon castell; yt is as stronge & straunge in sytuacion; yt belonged to the name of Malco Lacu or Maulom, last to Bygot, whose heir generall hath it now by the name of Radclif. Mulgrave was owned by the de Mauleys (de Malo Lacu) from c. 1215 to c. 1415. The seventh of the eight Peter de Mauleys, Barons of Mulgrave, married Margery Sutton, who subsequently married William Aldburgh, lord of Harewood (d. 1391). Roger Radcliffe of Mulgrave married as his second wife Mary, daughter of John Ryther the Cofferer (see Introduction). The legend of Wade is referred to by Chaucer (Troilus III, 614) and known to his sixteenth-century commentator, T. Speght, who wrote: 'Concerning Wade and his bote called Guingelot, and also his strange exploits in the same, because the matter is long and fabulous, I passe it over'. Wade's Grave, marked by standing stones. was unsuccessfully excavated by J. C. Atkinson. Leland records traditions about it (Itinerary i. 59). Pendragon Castle, a fortified pele in Mallerstang, Westmorland, had belonged to the Cliffords since the early fourteenth century. It stands on a cliff overlooking the Eden, a 'strong' but hardly a 'strange' (unfamiliar) situation. Ryther's reference indicates that, though deserted, the castle cannot have been in ruins when he saw it. It was restored by Lady Anne Clifford in 1660, only to be again abandoned in 1685.

THE POSTCRIPT

This letter, dated Barden, 26 September 1589, is expressedly a sequel to the Description, written after what was evidently a first visit to Dent and Sedbergh. It is unique in the immediacy of its observations and comment. Ryther describes himself as being 'in household with ... the Countess of Cumberland' and Barden Tower (near Bolton Abbey, Wharfedale) was part of the Clifford inheritance. The house had, however, been neglected and Whitaker records that 'from the inventory taken A.D. 1572, after the death of the second Earl, it appears that the hall and kitchen were furnished but the bedrooms empty'. The Tower was certainly in a ruinous state when the Countess's daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, inherited it. Just how James Ryther came to be writing from there is therefore uncertain, and the expression 'in household with' is also imprecise, possibly meaning no more than 'familiar with'. Later events were to show that the Countess was prepared to put in a good word for Ryther when he was in trouble, and it is possible that it was she who suggested his name to her sister, the Countess of Warwick, as a suitable 'steward' of the Northampton land near Kendal (see n2 below).

To the right honorable his very good Lord the Lord highe Tresorer of Ingland

I cannot satisfie my self in dewty to my country unlesse I delyver over to your honorable Lordship the discoverys I fynde of the partycularyties of this countrie from tyme to tyme, in the which thinkinge my self skillfull ynof when I dedycated my last indevors therein to your good Lordship by an accydent sence I knowe more, and therefore will becom an humble sewter to your honor to have the perfyttinge of that symple paunflett which I presentid of that importance.

Yt pleasid the right honorable my verie good Lord and Lady of Warwyck¹ to proffer me the stewardship of the late Marquessis lands about Kendall,² which I refusinge was yet contente to execute the thinge tyll such tyme as their better choyse might lay yt upon a more meet person for that chardge. In the executing of this office verie lately I passd through the people of two great dales, the one called Dent, of Danett as som say, and so lyke when the Danes were dryven to any shift to be their reffuge (as your Lordships lands of Tanfeelde were somtyms allso called Danefeelde, wher yet remayne extansis of their imcaminge);³ the other greater parte is called Sedbar. A thinge woorthie notinge I shall

1. Ambrose Dudley, 21st Earl of Warwick and brother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, married Anne Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, and sister of Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560-1616), who was brought up at Lilford in Northamptonshire and may have recommended Ryther to her. Dudley favoured Lady Jane Grey, was attainted under Mary, and raised to the peerage (26 Dec. 1561) by Elizabeth.

2. William Parr (1513-1571), son and heir of Thomas Parr of Kendal and of Parr in Prescot. Lancs, was created Marquis of Northampton by Edward VI on 16 Feb. 1547. Attainted under Mary for supporting Lady Jane Grey, Parr was restored in blood under Elizabeth, who re-created him marquis, 13 Jan. 1559. He died and was buried at Warwick, Dec. 1571, when his property reverted to the Crown. However, by letters patent of 12 July 1572 'the fourth part of the manor and barony of Kendal and other lands and possessions in the counties of Westmorland and York' were assigned to his widow, a Swedish lady who became first lady of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Chamber and was chief mourner at her funeral. Lady Warwick was equally in favour at court. Hence, no doubt, the Warwicks' interest in the stewardship of the Parr estates around Kendal. According to the inquisition taken at Kendal 14 March 1572 these included the manors of Grasmere, Langden, Greenriggs, Skalthwaiterigg, Strickland Roger, Horton Hay, Hewgill and Greenhead (Nicholson and Burn, History of Westmorland, I, p. 45).

3. The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names (1951 ed., pp. 136, 438) records both 'Denet' and 'Danefeld', but not as evidence of a Danish presence. Dent is interpreted as meaning 'a hill' or 'crag' and Tanfield as either 'Tona's open area' or 'open area with osiers or branches'. The manor of West Tanfield, Wensleydale, formed part of the Parr estates which passed to the Crown on the death of the Marquis of Northampton in

1571, when it was granted to Burghley.

recounte to your Lordship: in this Sedbar the vycar cwold present to me but only iiij disorderd persons, which I bounde to good abearing as barrators that haunted alehowses (the great falt of this country), ⁴ & were dayly fighting, quarrelling & disquiettinge this good people. In Dent only one was brought before me for very undutiffull partes to his father. This is notable amongst so many hundreth howsholdars.

Nowe your Lordship cometh to the marvell: no justice of peace is resyant within thirty myles of them in their county & he &cr; a hed constable they have, which if he did any thinge amongst them towchinge his office I fear me yt wold fall out woorse for ther government. In the one parish no gentyllman, in the other only two & those very mean. This people situatt amongst the wilde mowtains & savage fells ar generally well affectid to religion, quiett and industrius, equall with Hallyfax in this, exelling them in cyvillyty & temper of life as well as in absteyninge from drinke as from other excessis. This is that parte of the county which heertofore I have notid to your Lordship to be L. myles from my howse and but only this one justice for a good tyme within this compas. Yet I may not by this ensample of Dent &ce seem to showe to your Lordship that justices ar not requisett for these partes, for spendinge my tyme in howshold with my good & honorable Lady, the Countesse of Comberland, I see the people her in Craven allmost worne out of dew obedyence to her Maiestis auctoryty, for a justice may dyrect out his warrant heer twise to one township for offenders & shalbe fayne to go fech them the third tyme if he will have their companyes.

This vertuus Lady, as mayny other of Gods favors to this comonwealth, is placed here I trust for her Maiestis good, for her actions in this ebbe of her estate, ¹⁰ in releevinge the poore, in settinge the idell a woork upon her owen cost, & that which is princypall, in spreddinge good doctryne by her life & preaches as not unwoorthie to be left in remembrance to all posterytie. Only she hath showd herself to pyttyfull to night honters, which nowe ar grown to such nombres, as she is content to see justice don upon som of them, of the sort ther ar that do all kinde of roberries under coller of stealinge fleash, as

^{4. &#}x27;Common barretry is the offence of frequently exciting and stirring up suits and quarrels between his Majesty's subjects either at law or otherwise' (Blackstone, Commentaries iv, 134). Ryther was holding court as a J.P., though informally, since two justices were needed to constitute a formal court.

^{5.} See above, Letter VI, n. . '&cr' is shorthand for 'not desierus to labor in that function'. Adam Sedgwick (1785-1873) noted that throughout his early years in Dent the nearest magistrate lived at Steeton in Airedale, 42 miles away.

^{6.} If he was such a one as Shakespeare's Verges, the headborough in *Much Ado about Nothing*, it is small wonder that the villagers would not tolerate any attempt to exercise his authority.

^{7.} J. Foster (ed.), The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the years 1584/5 by Robert Glover (1875), names in the category of Liberi tenentes for Ewcross wapentake Richard Duckett and Francis Cowper of Sedbergh, gents.

^{8.} Thes people ar, as they term them selves, costomary tenants & greatly adicted to raise & maintain customs. They have no courts kept thes many years past. I hadde much to do to make them knowe the highe auctoryty of parlaments, which they thought cwold not cutt of any custom, no, not for remocion of any offence, but before all, their custom of quiett & industrius life I wylled them to keep; & so penall statutes cannot tuch them. Promotors begyn to abuse them & them selves notably. 'Well affectid to religion' was a great change from the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1536 William Breyton, a sanctuary man on the run from Colchester, turned up at Dent wearing the king's livery, which he had picked up at Abingdon. On hearing whose livery it was, the smith said 'Thy master is a thief, for he pulleth down all our churches in the country'. Breyton had to fly for his life and came to Kirby Lonsdale where he complained to the officers, who replied 'Alas, man! What didst thou there, for they of Dent and of three other parishes thereabouts were sworn on Monday last' (sc. as adherents to the Pilgrimage, though the writer adds revealingly 'to whom and wherefore they could not tell'). Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XI, 846. 'Promotors' were informers, as in Letter VI, (The Description) n. 77.

^{9. &#}x27;May dyrect out his warrant', sc. to the constable, whose duty it was to serve it on the offender and, when appropriate, to take surety from him. In practice the theory was not always implemented. For an exceptionally conscientious justice, Sir Thomas Postumus Hoby of Hackness, see Surtees Soc. CXXIV, 6.

^{10.} Her husband, preoccupied with a life of adventure and gaiety, was notoriously neglectful of the Countess; when her daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, came into the inheritance she found it in considerable disrepair.

they tearme yt.11

To conclud with all the novellties I can give your good Lordship out of thes northern partes as my laste that ever I shall owne, I fear me. ¹² The Skotts ar busy on the borders with murders & further within with matters of marriadg. God turne yt to the good of Ingland, for yt is he that only woorketh myracles to make us newe frends of olde enymyes. ¹³ The Dane & Skott ar nations naturally hatefull to us, yet, as I sarve God & under his marcy, good government by hym favord & blessed may effect marvells.

I must aske your Lordships pardon & with the same crave of God your increase of honor & comfort. Barden, this xxvith of Sept, 1589.

Your honors in dewty bounden James Rither

Acknowledgements

I have had so much help in preparing this text for publication that individual acknowledgements would be impracticable. I must, however, place on record that without the patient and generous assistance of the Editor of the Journal, Dr. R. M. Butler, this account would have been too defective to be worth publishing. Even so, a number of references and allusions remain unidentified and unexplained, while there are no doubt errors still to be corrected. I must thank Dr. W. J. Sheils of the Borthwick Institute, York, for checking my transcript against a microfilm of the original. The second part of this article will provide a convenient opportunity for collecting such additions and corrections as readers may have been able to offer.

^{11.} Lambarde notes it as a felony 'if any person have unlawfully hunted in the night in any Forrest, Park or Warren, or with painted faces, visors, or other disguisings, to the intent to be unknowne, and have ... wilfully concealed such hunters a hunting' (*Eirenarchia* (1581), iii. 4, 404).

^{12.} Ryther had been in danger of imprisonment for debt since Christmas, 1585, but had so far evaded the sheriff of the bailiwick in which Harewood lay. As it turned out, he managed to continue doing so until 1591 and wrote one more letter from Harewood on 29 Aug. 1590.

^{13.} It was 'March treason' for a borderer, whether man or woman, to inter-marry with Scots borderers (Cal. Border Papers, II, 746(4), 392). However, the reference here must be to James VI's marriage with Anne of Denmark, which had been the subject of negotiation since 1585 and was celebrated by proxy in Copenhagen on 20 August 1589. Her arrival in Scotland being delayed by storms, James went over in person and they were married in Oslo near Christiania on 23 November, eventually landing at Leith on 1 May 1590.

THE MEMORANDA BOOK OF SAMUEL BOWER

By DAVID POSTLES

Recent work on the English lower clergy has tended to concentrate on the period prior to or immediately after the Reformation. Other than the work of Pruett on the Leicestershire clergy, little attention has recently been given in print to the clergy during the mid and late seventeenth century. The memoranda book of Samuel Bower allows an opportunity to portray an incumbent in the middle of the seventeenth century in a South Yorkshire parish, though not perhaps as completely as MacFarlane's study of Ralph Josselin did for the clergy of Essex. It does permit, however, an intimate perspective of a clergyman which cannot easily be obtained from analysis of the diocesan records.

Bower had been a sizer at Trinity College, Cambridge, matriculating in 1622 and a B.A. in 1625/6. He was well served by his patrons, the Copley family. He was presented by John Copley to Warmsworth rectory as his first living on 5 November 1631. The Copleys, of Nether Hall, Doncaster, had acquired this advowson in the late fifteenth century, though soon after presenting Bower they divested it to the Bosvile family. Geoffrey Copley, of the Sprotborough branch of Copleys, presented Bower to the living of Sprotborough, where he was instituted on 3 November 1632. Initially, he held the two livings in plurality, but in 1634, after an acrimonious dispute with the main parishioners of Sprotborough, he resigned Warmsworth. He held Sprotborough until his death on 8 September 1668.

From the memoranda book and his will, 6 it is possible partially to reconstruct Bower's family. His first wife, Susannah, daughter of Richard Winter, whom he had married on 2 December 1632, died in childbirth on 12 October 1635. He married again on 4 January 1639 to Mary, daughter of William Chantrell, parson of Walkington. By these marriages he had at least eleven children. These were Mary (baptised 5 November 1633), the child who died with its mother in 1635, Susanna (born 26 June, baptised 4 July and buried 2 December 1639), Samuel (born 1642), John, Elizabeth, Deliverance, Deborah, Abigail, Ruth and Esther. The four younger daughters, all under 21 in 1668, must have been born after 1646. Samuel followed his father's path; he attended Sedbergh School, was admitted a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 25 April 1661, aged 19, matriculated in 1663, obtained his B.A. in 1664/5, and was ordained priest at Lincoln on 17 May 1668. Elizabeth and Deliverance were appointed joint executrices in their

^{1.} C. Hill, The Economic Problems of the Church (1956), chapters v and vi; A. Tindall Hart, The Country Clergy in Elizabethan and Stuart Times, 1558-1660 (1958); W. G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Country Parson in the Sixteenth Century', Essays in Leicestershire History (1950), pp. 1-23; R. O'Day and F. Heal, Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England, 1500-1642 (1976); M. Bowker, 'The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 50 (1977); F. Heal and R. O'Day, Church and Society in England (1977); R. O'Day, The English clergy: the Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642 (1979).

^{2.} J. H. Pruett, The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts. The Leicestershire Experience (University of Illinois, 1978).

^{3.} Sheffield City Libraries, C(opley) D(eeds). 474.

^{4.} A. MacFarlane, Family Life of Ralph Josselin (1970); A. MacFarlane (ed.), The Diary of Ralph Josselin (1976).

^{5.} J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, *I (to 1751)*, (1922 edn.), p. 190; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, I (1828), pp. 126, 128, 134. Bower gives his own account of the acrimony over his pluralism in CD 474, fos. 29^{r-v}.

^{6.} Borthwick Institute, Chancery Wills, May 1674. See Appendix V. Although the will is dated '1663', the regnal year (20 Charles II) shows that 1668 was intended (Ed.).

father's will of 30 August 1668, although only Deliverance (spinster, of Wheatley) executed the administration bond of 22 May 1674, some six years after Bower's death.

Bower does not conceal the date of his second marriage—a pressing engagement, since Susanna was born only six months later. This marriage was obviously advantageous to him, for his line not only received all his father-in-law's books (extensively listed in the memoranda book), but he also acquired through Mary Chantrell two farms in North Ferriby and Walkington, both in the East Riding. His will also included 29 acres and 3 roods of copyhold land in Fishlake, north of Doncaster. **

The memoranda book comprises 130 leaves in a volume 36 cm. by 14 cm. It is a ragbag of jottings, varying from notes of farming activities, marketing, costs of institution, tithe receipts, a diary of events during the Civil War, lists of books, family events, and disputes with neighbours. The last section is completely given over to tithe receipts and could be analysed to indicate agricultural productivity on the lines suggested by Kain.⁹

Bower's book opens with his institution to Sprotborough and his holding it in plurality with Warmsworth. He must have seen the livings in plurality as a long-term investment, because the initial expenses were very high, forcing him, not for the last time, into considerable debt, judging from the following entries.

Oct: 5 Recd of my sister Sarah iii li borrowed of Mr. Copley 10 li

Oct: 5 borrowed of my uncle Fayram of Clifton for w[hi]ch he haith

my bond to be payd on the 11 of May 10 li

borrowed eodem die of George Lord of Warm[worth] for w[hi]ch he haith

my bond to be payd as before vi li. borrowed of my brother Godfrey 2 li

of Mr. Bowlinge 10 li in all 41 li

for w[hi]ch my bond is gone to pay it 8 Octob: 1632

Received of Mr. Winter wheat for seed 2 quarter & of old wheat one load

At Warmsworth 4 metts & a stroke [sc. strike] of wheat threshed 4 sowen [sic].

Sowen at Warmesworth & Sprodburgh 10 acres & a halfe of wheat

Mem: that Mr. Winter haith a bond of 40 li for paym[en]t of 20 li for Samuel Winter upon May day next 1633.

Memorandum that upon the vith of Novemb[e]r 1632 I compounded for my first fruites at Sprotburgh to be payd as followes

May 1633 Novemb: 1633 May 1634

x li iis iii d.

Novemb[e]r 1634

Mr. Samuel Armitage of London bridge & Mr. Richard Noble dwellinge at the 3 Cranes in Canning street beinge my bondesmen.

London expences a dec[im]o sexto Oct: ad 10 Nov:

Inp[rimis]: charges of my Journey horse & man [Hole in MS] li

Item a Dispencion [sic] with the confermacion to hold Warmsworth with Sprotburgh 13 li.

Item Institucion & Induct[ion] into Sprodb: 7 li.

A hatt for Susan [his first wife] 12s. A boxe to carry itt in iid.

A Trunke 5s. Ius Canonicum 12s. Buxtor: [sic]

Hab: lexicon 5s. Institucions of Morley 3s. vid.

A Port Mantua 4s. [Hole in MS]. 2 standishes 16d. a looking [glass . . . Hole in MS.]. 2 plaine bandes 18d.

A payre of Gloves 3s. iid.

primo

Switch heading iid. new bootes iis. mending is.

Harmonia Scriptura & Historia Animalium.

2 Kinnes iis. A umbr' 2 umbr' 5s.

vase iid

^{7.} CD 474, fos. 40′, 43′; Doncaster M.B., Archives, P25/1/A1 (Sprotborough parish register). Ex inf. T. Macquiban, Borough Archivist.

^{8.} See n. 6.

^{9.} R. Kain, 'Tithe as an Index of Pre-Industrial Agricultural Production', Agricultural History Review, 27 (1979), pp. 73-81.

A Silver seale 5s. 2 pad lockes 8d. 2 law bookes 16d. Markhams husbandry 2s. Faithfull Farrier 4d. 2 nalish Gentlewoman 18d. a payre of snuffers 7d. Swedish [MS. illegible] 7s. [MS. torn] vid. Compleat parson 10d. 3 Alemanacks 8d. 10 2 pag: Samuel Bower 1632 Octob: 20 Inp[rimis] a Qualific[ation] from my Good L[or]d Darcy. expended then gratis 1 li. iis. 8d. plus [illegible]. It[em] a Sequestrac[ion] for Spodb'[sic] 16s. viis. modis. a paire of bootes 7s. 4d. spurres 10d. a plain band & a paire of Cuffes 2s. 2d. a silke Girdle 4s. iid. To George Bywater for bookes formerly had 9s. for this paper booke 15d. Charges at o[u]r Inne 10s. To the captaynes man for halfe a musket 2s. next time Mr. Leake is to pay: et musket [sic]. To Dr. Manwaring for his Counsell 10s.

To Phillips boy 2s. iiid. to the wife vid. for ale To Alexander Robucke iis. 10d.

further charges 3s. 4d. To Thomas Burley 5s.

To Mr. Dobson upon an old reckoninge 1s. iid.

for Synodalles 8d. a standish viid. to the poore 4d.

3° for a licence to preach una cum noua forma present' 2 li. to the clarke vis. 8d. to the porter 12d. to the butler 4d. a new cassocke 40s. a new hatt 13s. charges at Yorke Mr. Kay, man, my selfe, horses 13s. 4d., a paire of Gloves 1s., poore 1s. for harvest worke 20s.

Novembris 3° To the Ringers at my takinge possession of sprodb: vis.

Novembris 12-13° payd to John Man for harvest worke done w[he]n I was at London 24s.

Novem: 16 sold the least Qui with her calfe to Goodman Radley for 35s. iid. earnest to be payd on Wednesday next.

Received for one load of payson 5s. 10d.

hwye of constables iid. Palatine Cathechisme iid. a payre of Cuffes iid. one boxe 3d.

Pembles Geograph: iid. a discourse of horses iid.

waxe 3d. Dr. Favour 12d.

Burton's Censure of Simonis vid.

a strete for a tinder boxe & 2 flintes 4d.

spurr leathers 4d.

spent in all 39 li. & odde monyes. 11

Not for the last time in his life, Bower had become indebted. As will be shown later, he was normally both creditor and debtor at the same time, lending and borrowing concurrently. Without doubt, however, the costs of his receiving the living at Sprotborough set him back. Partly, the expenses incurred were necessary; on the other hand, much of his expense was simply social spending—but not quite 'conspicuous consumption'.

Plainly, he felt that having to cope with a further glebe at Sprotborough required a more intimate knowledge of husbandry, and he tried to mug up on the current literature—a copy of Markham's *Husbandry*, the *Faithfull Farrier*, and also the *Compleat Parson*. Husbandry—and also his tithes—continued to be a particular concern for Bower, perhaps rivalled only by his being a bibliophile. According to the glebe terrier of Sprotborough of 1663, 12 he was probably farming 41/2 acres of meadow in Sprotborough Ings and 31 acres 31/2 roods partly lying dispersed as 'lands' or selions (with the exception of the Parson flatt, which was a consolidated block of 14 acres). The glebe at Warmsworth 13 totalled 40 acres 1 rood. Although, according to the glebe terrier, small

^{10.} CD 474, fo. 1°.

^{11.} Ibid., fo. 2^r.

^{12.} Borthwick Institute R'III F. LXXII. 1a.

^{13.} Borthwick Inst. R. III F. 1. XC.

parcels were leased—possibly shedding inconvenient lands—Bower probably farmed most of the glebe himself. On 3 January 1632/3, for example, he lamented:

In all at Warmsw[orth] 23 qtr of barley and a sacke where of I did sow 6 acres w[i]th barley from w[hi]ch w[i]th all my tith I reape but 23 qtr. and a pecke. 14

Barley was a principal crop, but peas were also a favoured spring grain, as in 1623/3:

1632 seed corne ware

Feb. 28 Sowen at Warmsw[or]th 2 acres & a halfe viz. the 2 landes on both sides the way at the Closeing 1 acre & a halfe the halfe acre & single rood in the way to the ch[urch]: 2 load peyes & a bushell w[i]th the better.

March the 1st Sowen 2 landes below the closeing 3 roode at the townesend in Dungcroft 2 acres & a rood all 2 load peyes.

M[arch] 2nd the halfe acre in Mr. Vincents close the halfe acre at the townesend, h[alf] an ac[re] in Mr. Vinc[ents] flatt 2 load peyes . . . sowen on acre & a halfe.

March 5 Sowen the 3 rood upon the Cleffis towardes the Butterbalk hedge a halfe acre in Mr. Vincents flatt 4 metts sowen of Ground

7 acres & a halfe—7—a rood peyes sowen 7 load & a bushell w[i]th the better.

M[arch] vith Sprotburgh.

Sowen 2 acres & a halfe w[i]th 2 loades & a bushell of peyes 3 ac[re] & a halfe w[i]th 3 seckes of oates upon Ash Wednesday March vi^{th15}

Bower sold some of his grain locally in the parish, direct to the buyers, probably for seedcorn. He also sent grain for sale at the main local markets—Barnsley (malt in particular), Doncaster and Rotherham. Barnsley was more popular with Bower than the others. ¹⁶ In 1642, he sold large quantities of malt at Barnsley through a known middleman:

Malt sold at Barnsley.

July 16 30 qtr. to be delivered there at 30s. per quarter if the chapman hold. He haith had 6 quarters. He owes 30s. for one qtr. July 27. 17

He also tried his hand at apiary, collecting swarms in 1644-7, and recording his beekeeping in detail.¹⁸

Bower thus had to employ casual labour, although the memoranda book contains only fleeting references. 'Labourers hire and servants wages' in 1635 included payments of 3s. on 10 Feb., 18 Feb. and 23 Feb. to John Man for threshing for a week at a time. He also employed a permanent labourer in 1633:

Articles of Agreem[en]t betwixt Thom[as] Tyas [of] Cadebye and my selfe Aug. 5th. 1633.

Inpr[imis] that he shall serve me for 8d a day fr[om] Lammas to Michaelmas

2 m[onth] and from thence till Candlemas

1 m[onth] for 6d. a day & fr[om] thence till Lammase 6 months for 7d. a day Giving him a mett of wheat at Christmas, & plowinge his ground, loading his manner [sc. manure], corne & hay as another man will, himselfe being alwayes one w[it]h the draught & lookinge for no pay at my handes . . .

followed by a list of payments to Tyas.

The memoranda book also contained a descriptive account of the local effects of the civil war from May 1643 to Feb. 1646 (fos. 108°—113°), which would repay more detailed research.

^{14.} CD 474, fo. 4^r.

^{15.} Ibid., fo. 7°.

^{16.} Ibid., fos. 3^v, 4^{r-v}.

^{17.} Ibid., fo. 3°.

^{18.} Ibid., fos. 46^v—47^r.

^{19.} Ibid., fo. 16^r.

The following extract deals with events during the summer and autumn of 1643. The Earl of Newcastle's Royalist army and Lord Fairfax's Parliamentary forces had been cautiously approaching each other looking for opportunities to strike a decisive blow. On 21 May (Whitsunday) Sir Thomas Fairfax took Wakefield, capturing General Goring, who had earlier defeated him on Seacroft Moor. Bower notes the movements of Newcastle's main army, based for a time at Howley Hall near Morley (demolished 1730) after capturing it with its commander, Sir John Savile. The 'bloody day' of 30th June was the battle of Adwalton Moor between Bradford and Leeds, in which the Fairfaxes were decisively defeated and forced to retreat to Hull. Gainsborough was taken by Newcastle on July 30th from the Parliamentarians under Lord Willoughby of Parham who had surprised the town ten days before. Robert Pierrepoint, first Earl of Kingston, was killed by Royalist fire when a prisoner in an enemy boat. Sir John Kay of Woodsome, whose cornet was quartered on Bower, was colonel of a Royalist cavalry regiment of which Sir Godfrey Copley of Sprotborough was major.

Then came to quarter with us Sir John Kay his Coronet w[i]th 5 men 6 men 6 horses that night they had a strike 4 peckes of old peyes. Mr. Leadbetter was w[i]th me that day about Mr. Vicars closese [sic] another pecke of peyes. Coronet Audesley Francis Hutchinson Robert Senyor John Senior Robert Baildon Christopher Walshaw.

on Whitsunday Wakefield was taken. On Monday night 12 men & horse were quartered w[i]th me, 2 went away on tuesday. I have yet 10 men & horse whereof Corpor[a]ll

Hammerton is one & corporall Senyor. 4 w[ent] away on wednesday.

a stroke [sc. strike] more of oates & a pecke of peyes. the 25th day payd to R[ichar]d Foster for my Lay at the g[rea]t Assessm[en]t at Cadebye 2 li. I am to pay at Sprotburgh x li. the w[he]n I was away got xiii li., payd to the king for my Armes at Rotheram 2 li., at Pigburne foure nobles, my charges at Yorke & Pontefract 15 li. for my Cure supplying vi li.

They w[en]t away June the 3rd stayd w[i]th us 6 dayes, they returned upon the report of the taking of Sir Fran[cis] Wortleys house. Corne upon Warr[an]ts halfe a Load of Rye 3 peckes of wheat 2 rye Loaves.

June 14 5 men & horse Lodged w[i]th me a Leiutenant & the Quarter M[aste]r a Dutchman & one Rd w[i]th their 4 men, they w[en]t away the ixth, toke my mare & horse out of the stable w[i]th them. Wee recovered them about a mile beyond Donc[aster]. they had about a mett of peyes for their horses.

June 21 halfe a Load of Rye the weekly allowance.

June 30. Layd downe for the towne 10s. vid. whereof I am to beare my part for the weekely allowance for the Army that haith now been at Howley hall a fortnight next tuesday, 3 weekes at Pontefract before & a fortnight at Tadcaster before that a fortnight at Sheafeild & Rotheram & 4 dayes before that at Wakefeild Pontefract & before Leeds 3 weekes & odds dayes before that. Since the Army came into Pontefract it is 12 weekes the 30th & last day of June.

June the 30th a bloody day that skirmishing w[i]th the enemy from Adderton towne end (to Pudsey &) (cancelled) on to Bradforth more the perfect Relacion whereof we expect. That same day Mr. Vicars toke my Cattell out of my Close having broke his owne fence the boy & another like himself looking on he made choyse of a time w[he]n all the men

were sent for into my L[or]ds Army to do it.

Aug. 13 sent to the Army at Donc[aster] 2 loaves iis. at the least. Aug. 5 & 4 I was at Walkingham, sent for by the Controoler for refusing as he s[ai]d obed[ienc]e to a warr[an]t. I gave him my Answ[e]r & was dismist but payd to the messenger of it, teame of Artillery, Mr. Will[iam] Stone of Newc[astle] Quartered 5s. for his Fee charges 5s. on Sunday July the 30th Gainsbrough taken, there were lost before its taking my L[or]d of Kingstone in the pinnace afterwards taken by our men he was slaine by his freinds casually in a battell the friday before w[i]th Coll[onel] Cromwell Coll[onel] Chandice Loo[tenant] Coll[onel] Markham Coll[onel] Beeton, buried at Donc[aster] a weeke before the battell. Lincolne yeilded 5^{to} or 6^{to} Aug.

13° my L[or]d of Newcastle his Excellencie came & donc[aster] w[i]th Army backe & upon the outbreadves of L[or]d fairfax.

On Monday marcht to Pontefract.

I sent that day 2 dozen of bread the which constables assest. Sept. 29 halfe a load of Rye w[i]th me to be sent to the Army at Hull, the constable to pay for it out of my 10s. vid. Layd out for the parish.

8^{br} the 2^d my draught 4 oxen went to Wakefeild w[i]th provision for the Army, my draughtsman had been in the Army at Tadc[aster] & Pontefract a whole moneth.

By 1645 conditions had become considerably rougher, as testified by the following extracts from fo. 109°. Naseby had been fought on 14th June and the Scottish army, which had helped to besiege York and had shared in the victory of Marston Moor in July 1644, had returned to Yorkshire after capturing Carlisle and Hereford and wandering back to the Border area. It was eventually to join the siege of Newark in November 1645, where the king surrendered himself on 5 May 1646. The Parliamentary ordinances which Bower received on 11 September must have been those for 'the more effectual putting into execution the Directory for Publique Worship', 'the better observation of the Lord's Day' and 'for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition', passed respectively on 26 August, 9 May and 8 April 1645. Colonel Christopher Copley commanded a Parliamentary force stationed around Doncaster and was to defeat Goring at Sherburn on 15 October.

The Scotish Army returned back, to a q[uar]t[e]r m[aste]r 18d. I had that night [1645 Aug.] 27 quartered w[i]th me Mayor Gory a Lieuten[an]t a Cornitt his q[uar]t[e]r m[aste]r between 40 & 50 men & 60 horse at the house, they toke my horse my Cosins mare & Provision to the value of 10s. I w[an]t a paire of shooes & yet knowe [else they set the horses to the corne mowes & bedded the str[] w[i]th corne, breaking open all doores for Provision about the house.

an obscure unknown Messenger brought to the doore sever(a)ll ordinances of Sept. 11 Parliam[en]t to be read in the ch[urch] conc[erning] the Govt Directory L[or]ds Day abolishm[en]t of all Monum[en]ts of Idolatry.

I was taken prisoner by Corp[ora]ll Carver w[i]th 7 more souldiers in Col[enel Sept. 12 Copley his Regim[en]t, they toke as I was walking & soe carryed me to Wommersley, that night, to Cawood Castle in the morning, where I was 8 dayes then w[i]th our Marshall wee had order to come to Yorke & there upon our subscription were released 20 Sept. 1645. 20

A natural catastrophe upon which he pronounced was mortality in 1646,

Observaciones de Peste apud Sprotburgh 1646.

Aug. 16... Die Bram[a]le man dyed... not withstanding what I could say or doe to the contrary; it was concealed.

23. he sent me word by Nic[holas] Adam that if I would not admit him & his fam[ily] to the ch[urch] he would goe 5 mile to a sermon afore he would heare me.

3 sicke in his fam[ily] a da[ughter] & 2 men the next day.

30. another man of his dyed.

31. I sent my childr[en] Sam[uel] Mary Eliz[abeth] to Marr & I w[en]t myself to Cadebye to R[ichar]d Foster his house there I was a 14 night.

Sept. 6 I preacht at Cadeby Hall on 119 Ps. 120.

All Ridgells fam[ily] dyed Husb[an]d wife & 3 childr[en].

- 13. I preacht at Sprotburgh there were buryed of the Plague in one moneth 8 persons.
- 16. my man Hen[ry] warded.
- 20. I preacht at Sprotb[rough] 24. Pashley had a child that dyed of it.

25. Watsons had another child that died of it that day.21

The late summer was the classical time for epidemics of this nature. The ravages of childbirth were also familiar to Bower:

October the 12th 1635 departed this miserable life my most lovinge & kinde wife Susannah after 3

Ibid. fo. 13^t.

^{20.} For further details on the military background of Bower's entries, see V.C.H., Yorkshire III (1913), pp. 422-8 and J. W. Clay, 'The Gentry of Yorkshire at the Time of the Civil War', YAJ23 (1915), pp. 348-94. The text of the ordinances to be read in church are in C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (ed.), Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660, (1911), pp. 420-22, 425-6 and 582-607.

dayes and 3 nights torments in the paynes of a most difficult childbirth viz. f[rom] tharsday 10 o clock in the night till Sunday about 8 o clocke in the night when after a violent delivery she immediately expired & now ceses f[rom] all her labours in glory everlasting. She had 4 midwives with her at the time & a 5th that was gone, & Mr. Troatbacke tho I knowe he came to late, had a peice for his paynes, the midwives less, my aunt was intended principall 20s one way & other the poore of the parish of Melton & some other places 30s. . . . as many as came were dined. ²²

These early years before Susannah's death were harrowing for Bower. He was

constantly in debt.

Nov. 30. borrowed of Katherine Winter of Rotherham for w[hi]ch she haith my bond of 40 li. to be payd the 29 of Novem[ber] 1633 20 li. I say borrowed eodem die at her house 20 li.

Dec. 1st. borrowed of Robert Snowden for w[hi]ch he haith my bond of 20 li. 10 p[oun]d to be payd the 31 of Dec: 1633. 23

Also in 1632, he enumerated the following bonds and other debts:

15 Oct. To his uncle Faram, of Clifton, a bond in £20 to pay £10;

15 Oct. To George Lord, of Warmsworth, a bond to pay £6;

8 Oct. To Edward Bowling, a debt of £10;

For first fruits and tenths £10;

To the executors of Mr. Winter £20;

To Catherine Winter of Rotherham on 29 Nov. £20;

To Robert Snowden on 2 Dec. £10.

consoling himself:

in all I am indebted upon bond the 5 of Dec. 1632 one hundred and sixe pounds xs. rather 100 li. & 10 li. 110 li.

Dabit hic quoque finem.

Deus miserere.

He went on:

Memorandum that I found a 5s. piece in the little purse w[hi]ch makes it 33 li. wanting vid. more. I want 17 li. w[i]th w[hi]ch I should pay my debts so farr as it will extend.²⁴

A fair amount was spent on books, Bower being an insatiable bibliophile. On trips to York on clerical business, he would spend a fiver on books or buy them on tick. To his immense credit, he ran a sort of parochial lending library, and the memoranda book records his loans of books meticulously (esp. fos. 121'—'):

Blondus lent to Mr. Northrop Nov. 1635, R. Shelford's work to his brother, Joseph, Oct. 1635; Martyr upon Judges to his uncle Saxton; several books to Mr. Kendall of Edlington; the humble examination of the Arguments to Mr. Gefford of Ravenfield;

Lord Brooke on Episcopacy to Mr. Bosvile of Braithwell;

Vossius Theses to Tom Kay of Barnbrough; Pod & Cleater on the Prophets and Mr. Temple on 20 Psalms to Mr. Kendall;

Turkish History to Mr. Routh;

Gattaker on Lots and R. Davenant de pace ecclesiastica inter Protestantes and a Hebrew bible to Mr. Kendall again;

B. Montague contra Selden de Decimis to Mr. Barton at Rotherham;

Sir Francis Bacon's books on natural history to Mr. Cooke.

Bower obviously had a circle of lay patrons, friends or congregation with a high degree of literacy.

Bower may have been an individualist, perhaps not totally representative of the English clergy during the seventeenth century. He was certainly an intellectual, although he succumbed to the attractiveness of pluralism. He attempted to make a go at farming his glebe, even though his income from tithe was substantial. Like Ralph Josselin, he kept an intimate record—narrative and numerate—of his incumbencies.²⁵

^{22.} Ibid., fo. 40^r.

^{23.} Ibid., fo. 2^r.

^{24.} Ibid., fo. 10°.

^{25.} Documents in Appendices III and V are published by kind permission of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.

Appendix I

Jan 1 1632 [/3] An Inventorye of the Goodes of Samuel Bower Clarke parson of Warmsworth taken by himselfe Jan 1 Anno Domini 1632. (CD 474, fo. 129°.)

Inprimis bookes, purse, apparell	()
Item in corne	0
Item 10 acres of wheat sowen	0
Item 3 yoke of oxen	0
Item 5 Quies	0
Item 5 swine	0
Item the free rent at the Rigge	0
Item 4 mares	0
Household Goodes bought of Mr. Turtons executor	0
Item a waine bolt shakell 3 yokes 2 waines	0
Item lockes & keyes at the parsonage	
Item 2 waine ropes 3 horse geares [at] Warmsworth	0
bridle sadles	8
A plow	6
2 score hakes	0

My wife lining

6 paire of sheetes 2 paire course 4 fine

4 pare of billow beares fine

2 Dozen of napkins all

2 table cloathes

4 towells 2 little ones

beddinge

2 fether bed [

]", not very fine

1 bolser 4 pillowes 2 paire of blanketts

1 brasse pott, 1 yron pott, 1 pewther 7 deshes a chamber pott halfe a dozen pottingers 2 pewther candle stickes 2 brass Candlestickes, a double salt a pewther flaggon 6s. a Dozen saucers.

Curtaines for the parlour 20s.

Lace—8s. ringes 1s. Iron roddes 3s.

for 2 stammill bearing cloathes 1 redd 15s.

- i. Bower used Arabic and Roman numerals inconsistently, so they have been normalised to Arabic here.
- ii. One word illegible in each case.

Appendix II

'A note of all my bookes taken October 24 1633', (CD, 474, fos. 121^v—125^v).

The list enumerates Bower's books in detail, giving a valuation for each of more than 200. As might be expected, a large proportion are liturgical works, but there is also a substantial sprinkling of works by authors of classical antiquity, natural philosophy and science, husbandry and law (canon and civil). They include: Randall (on the sacraments), Davenant, Byfield, Vossius, Sanderson (sermons), Pemble, Goodwin, Calvin (Institutions), Piscator (Mathematics), Bermann (Latin), Hippius (Physics), Downan, Fenner, Dr. Sybbes, Bishop Andrew (sermons), Bede (ecclesiastical history), Philip Melanchthon, Eusebius, Ramus (several works), Seneca, Platina, Whitaker, Bonaventura (life of St. Francis), White (way to the true church), Speede, Dr. Usher, 'The English Gentlewoman', Markham (husbandry), Lawson, (orchards), Butler (bees), Corpus Iuris canconici, 'Institutions of the Lawes', 'Pulton on the statutes', Sir Thomas More (Utopia), 'Dutyes of Constable', 'Faithful Ferrar' [sc. Farrier], Erasmus, Cotton's 'Concordance', Gratian's decretals, Polydore Virgil, Sir H. Finch's discourse of law in four books, Grotius (on truth), Herbert's 'sacred poems', Peter Martyr, 'Termes of Law', Natura brevium (? Fitzherbert), and (inevitably) a table for tithes. The list needs specialist research.

Appendix III: Glebe Terrier of Sprotborough 1663

(Borthwick Institute R III F. LXXII. 1a)

A Terrier of all the gleab lands belonging the Parsonage of Sprotbrough 1663. Inprimis

Of medow

Four acres & a halfe butting north & south

in Sprotbrough Ings.

Item of Arable

Five Lands att the East end of the Towne butting against the Roche, & the highway to Newton conteining two acres.

Three Lands conteining three acres, butting also against the Roche & high-way Eastward & next to the three-acre-flatt late in the tenure of Henry Dickenson. Seaven Lands conteining one acre & three roods butting against the Bank-stile at the one end, & a Crossheadland att the other end thereof, lately in the Tenure of Mr. William Copley.

Five Lands att the Lownd-balke, conteining one acre, & three roods, & one half-rood, lying next the said balke, excepting one Land late in the tenure of Thomas Seniour, being one rood.

Four Land-ends or butts conteining three roods butting upon the East side of the upper new close. One Close called Parson-flatt conteining fourteen acres lying betwixt little-Hay & Newton field. (This flat is by ancient estimate only twelve Acres of arable land)

One acre lying on the North-side Towne butting on the high way & Richard Symons meistead.

One acre att Bellcross-yate, & one acre nigh it call'd Crabtree acre.

Three acres at Clay-pit-close side, the south endes butting against white-cros-acre.

One Acre & a half butting against little-Hay on the north-side.

One acre att the writh-oakes butting north & south.

Besides the Parsonage-house, & the garden & Orchard adoining, & four beast-gates in the Common Pasture (that is to say in the Roche, & banckes, the Common highway unto wich lyes at the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up by the Lord of the townesend by the Crosse which is now walled up the Cr

Sa[muel Bower R[ector] ibid [em].

Thomas Hayward

(,,,) words in brackets added later; probably in Bower's hand.

The glebe terrier confirms the continuing 'openfield' arrangement (M. W. Beresford, 'Glebe Terriers and Openfield Yorkshire,' Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXXVII (1950), and idem, 'Glebe Terriers and Openfield Leicestershire,' Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, (1949), pp. 77-126) and also indicates the very small size of some selions (or 'lands' or 'acres') as opposed even to butts.

Appendix IV

(CD 474, fo. 105°.)

my Son Sam[uel's] expences at St. Johns Col[lege] in Cambridge who was admitted April 25 1661. pensioner.

															Sι	Summe expended						
the Lady quarter end June the 24																9	3	$71/_{2}$				
Sept 2961																11	4	$0^{1/2}$				
4 quarters ending Dec 24 61 .																10	11	91/2				
1 quarter ending March 25 1662																9	15	31/2				
2 quarters ending Junii 24 1662																8	7	$2^{1/2}$				
3 quarters ending Sept 29 1662																7	18	$8^{1/2}$				
4 quarters ending Dec 21 62 .	٠														•	12	6	2				
1 quarter ending March the 25 63				•												7	6	$10^{1/2}$				
2 quarters ending Junii 24 63 .																8	19	$91/_{2}$				
3 quarters ending Sept 29 63 .																						
	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠		٠	•	٠	•	•				85	13	$5\frac{1}{2}$				
expended	٠	٠	٠													7	18	2				
I quarter ending March 25 64 .																8	8	$6^{1/2}$				
1 quarter ending Junii 24 64 .				•			٠									7	16	01/2				
1 quarter ending March 25 65 .	٠						•		٠							22	1	8				

Appendix V The Will of Samuel Bower

(Borthwick Institute Chancery Wills, May 1674)

This is a holograph will in Bower's hand, which is still bold and strong.

In the name of God Amen. The thirtith day of August in the 20th yeare of the Reigne of Our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second of England Scotland France & Ireland King defender of the Faith & c And in the yeare of oure Lord Christ 1663. I Samuel Bower Clerke Minister of Gods Law at Sprotburgh in the County of Yorke beinge weake in body, but of good & sound disposing Memory blessed be God for the same Doe make & ordaine this my last will & Testament, hereby revoking & annulling all former wills & Testaments at any time heretofore by me made As followeth. And first I Commit & Commend my immortall soule & spirit into the handes of Almighty God my Maker and to Jesus Christ my only Saviour & Reddemer hoping only by his death & passion (through faith in his bloode) to be saved, & by noe other meanes whatsoever. My body I commit to the Grave to be interred at the discretion of my Executresses, without much charge, hoping to receive this vile body againe a glorious body at the Resurrection of the just.

And as to the estate which it haith pleased God to bestow on me here in my pilgrimage I dispose the same as followeth. And first whereas I formerly surrendred All those Nine Closes called West Feild Closes containing by estimacion Twenty nine Acres & three roodes be they more or lesse lying in Fishlake in the said County to the use of my foure younger daughters Deborah, Abigail, Ruth & Esther & their heires after my decease I doe hereby ratifye & Confirme the said Surrender, & doe desire my said foure daughters & their heires may enjoy the same accordingly, Alsoe I give & devise unto my said foure daughters to Deborah fourty poundes, To Abigail, Ruth & Esther each of them fifty poundes in monyes to be payd unto them respectively, as they shall accomplish their severall Ages of Twenty one yeares or be marryed whichever shall last happen or within six monthes next after the said times by my Executresses hereafter named together with legall interest for the said fourty poundes to Deborah, & a hundred & fifty to the three youngest daughters, viz £50 a peice, from & after six monthes after my dissease, My said foure daughters allowinge unto my Executresses, soe long as they or any of them continue to live with my Executresses or either of them such summe & summes yearly for diet & apparell as shall be thought meet by my ever honoured & worthy good friendes Sir Godfrey Copley Baronet & John Vincent Esquier whom I humbly desire to supervise herein. And also to order & determine any differences if any such (wich God forbid) should arise amongst any of my children. And I enjoyne all my children (As they expect a blessinge from God) to abide such order as by my said worthy freinds shall be made concerning this my last will.

Alsoe my will is that in case any of my said foure daughters dye before such time or times as are before herein appointed for payment of their said respective summes hereby given them, Then I give such summe belonging to such deseased child, to such of her said foure [sic] sisters as shall survive her.

Also I give & devise those my two farmes in Northferribye & Walkington in the said County of Yorke with all their appurtenances unto Samuel Bower my eldest son & his heires. Item I give unto him his grand father Chauntrells gold sealed Ring & which was given by their Grandfather aforesaid to my son Samuel & my daughter Elizabeth a silver guilt salt little bean bole, a wine bottle & halfe a dozen silver spoones to be equally devided betwixt them both All which were mine sayth he before I marryed. Alsoe I give to my said son Samuel all my bookes & all his Grandfathers bookes which came to my handes, he paying to his brother John Bower Foure score poundes by tenn pounds yearly

the first halfe yearly payment to begin within six monethes after my death.

Alsoe I give to my daughter Deliverance Bower one hundred pound which I hope If God will lengthen out my breath soe long to pay her my selfe, or leave directions where she may receive it within one moneth after my death. Alsoe I give to the poore of the Parish of Sprotburgh Fourty shillings to be distributed to the severall townes within the said Parish as my Executresses with the advice of the churchwardens & overseers for the poore shall thinke fit.

Alsoe I give to every hired servant that shall be in my familie at the day of my death besides their covenanted wages three shillings foure pence to be payd within a moneth after my death.

Alsoe all the rest of my Goods chattels, cash household stuffe & personall estate whatsoever I give & bequeath unto my two daughters Elizabeth & Deliverance Bower, whom I make & appoint joynt executrisses of this my last will & Testament.

Witnesse my hand & seale

Sa[muel] Bower seal

Witnesses hereof Tho[mas) Rokeby Cler[icus] Tho[mas] Roebucke his marke.

mark.

⟨) these words are superscript.

i. There is a detailed list of these books in CD 474, fos. 53^r—55^v, as they were given to Samuel junior on 27 July 1646. There is a value given for each book, but no total valuation. Some 260 books are listed, valued at from 6d. to 28s. each. The list would repay detailed analysis by a specialist.

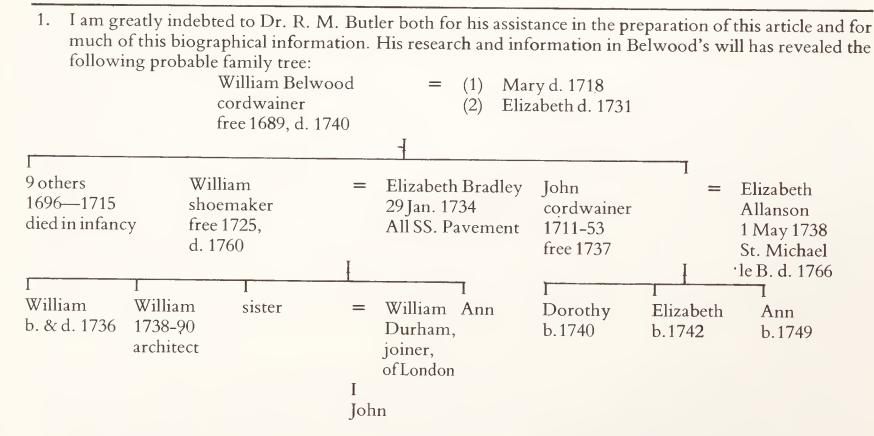


WILLIAM BELWOOD: ARCHITECT AND SURVEYOR

By JILL LOW

Much of William Belwood's work in Yorkshire which has not been destroyed has frequently been attributed to his better-known colleagues with the result that he has faded into unrecognised obscurity. The balance is now beginning to be redressed and it is possible that future research will establish him as one of the more significant local architects.

The son of a shoemaker, William Belwood was born on February 13, 1738/9. The family lived in the parish of St. Helen, Stonegate, in York and it will be seen that William remained loyal to this area when he established his own architectural practice in 'Lendall', near the Palladian Mansion House and Lord Burlington's highly important Assembly Rooms. Indeed, perhaps perceiving where patronage would be found, or maybe from conviction, the Belwoods were firm supporters of the Whigs and a 'Mr. Bellwood' of St. Helen's parish - perhaps William's father - contributed to the anti-Jacobite fund in 1746. William himself is recorded as favouring one of his patrons, William Weddell of Newby Hall (brother-in-law of the one-time Whig Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham), in the County elections of 1784. Little is known of Belwood's early life, save that he was apprenticed in 1753 to the carpenter, John Robinson of York. He left this master in 1761, taking his freedom by patrimony as 'William Bellwood, joiner', but had already started work at Harewood House, where his role as Superintendant of the Works extended over a period of about ten years. 2 He clearly worked well with Harewood's principal architect, Robert Adam, since he seems to have initially played a similar part in respect of the latter's early work at another important Yorkshire house, Newby Hall.



The family lived initially in the parish of St. Peter the Little (combined with All Saints, Pavement) but seems to have moved to that of St. Helen, Stonegate c. 1735 (Registers of All Saints Pavement, York, 2, YPRS 1936, pp. 192, 193, 198, 199, 201, 203, 234, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 249, 262). A Charles Belwood of Brandsby was surveyor for the north part of the York—Oswaldkirk turnpike from 1781 to after 1809, but his relationship, if any, to this family is unknown. See also H. M. Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660-1830, pp. 106-7.

2. M. Mauchline, Harewood House, 1974, pp. 69, 71, 92, 97-8, 103.

Adam's first designs for Newby, those for the ceilings of the sculpture gallery and dining room, are dated 1767³ and Belwood must have started there soon after this, possibly dividing his time between Harewood and Newby, since his hand and experience as a joiner are evident in technical drawings for the plasterwork in these two rooms and in a 'Machein for working the Dome with', a construction akin to scaffolding to assist with the construction of the central rotunda. Belwood also provided from Adam's original designs several large-scale working drawings for plaster decoration and statue pedestals.

In 1774 he must have felt sufficiently confident of his own abilities and his patrons' good will to set up in independent practice, for on 18 August the following advertisement appeared in the *York Courant*:

ARCHITECTURE WILLIAM BELWOOD ARCHITECT AND SURVEYOR

(Late Superintendant of the Works at Harewood House)

Takes the Liberty respectfully to acquaint his Friends and Public, That he is now Settled in Lendall, York, and proposes making DESIGNS FOR BUILDINGS from the plainest to the most elegant and in the different tastes; also designs Temples; and Ornamental Buildings, Green Houses, Bridges, etc. with Estimates, likewise measures and values the different Articles.

He humbly hopes, that having conducted several very capital Buildings under the great Masters in Architect[ure], Robert and James Adam Esqrs of the Adelphi, will enable him to give perfect satisfaction to those who shall honour him with their commands.

This must have yielded some work, since on 7 January, 1775, Belwood, describing himself as 'of Harewood House in the County of York, Architect' (an indication that he was still working for Lascelles on a commission which, judging from his advertisement, he regarded as particularly prestigious), bought a house with gardens and garden house 'in Finkell Street near to the Mint Gate', York, for £195. A second advertisement, placed in the Leeds Mercury nearly a year after the first, must also have been useful and on 11 November, 1776, Belwood was able to purchase a further piece of ground adjoining his house for £100. On this occasion he described himself as 'of the City of York, Architect', so he must have felt reasonably well-established. He also no doubt realised that his own house was something of a permanent advertisement and it is evident that he did a considerable amount of work on it since, when it was sold after his death, it was said to have been 'erected and built by . . . William Belwood wherein he resided at the time of his death'. No designs for this house have been traced (nor is it known whether Belwood worked on the nearby house of his friend, the instrument-maker Thomas Haxby of Blake Street, which was substantially altered in 1773); nearly everything on the site was rebuilt in 1860 and demolished about a century later, so that Belwood's house is completely lost, but it is probably to this period of independent practice that Belwood's most distinctive work at Newby Hall belongs.

3. Sculpture gallery S11 (236 and 237); dining room CC 1/7/5.

4. Further technical drawings for the gallery and Belwood's other drawings for Newby Hall and Newby Park are all in the Compton Collection.

5. In Bailey's Directory for 1781 appears the entry 'Bellwood, William Architect, Lendal', not repeated in the editions of 1784 and 1788. I am grateful to Mr. C. Hutchinson for information about Belwood's advertisements and to Dr. R. M. Butler for information about his house, which he has identified from the title deeds in York City Archives (YBL Acc. 184) as an L-shaped block with a frontage of 79 ft. 2 ins. on what is now Museum Street, occupying a site recently rebuilt. The back of the house is shown, albeit impressionistically, in J. Storey's view of *The Gardens of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York, c.* 1858 (York City Art Gallery).

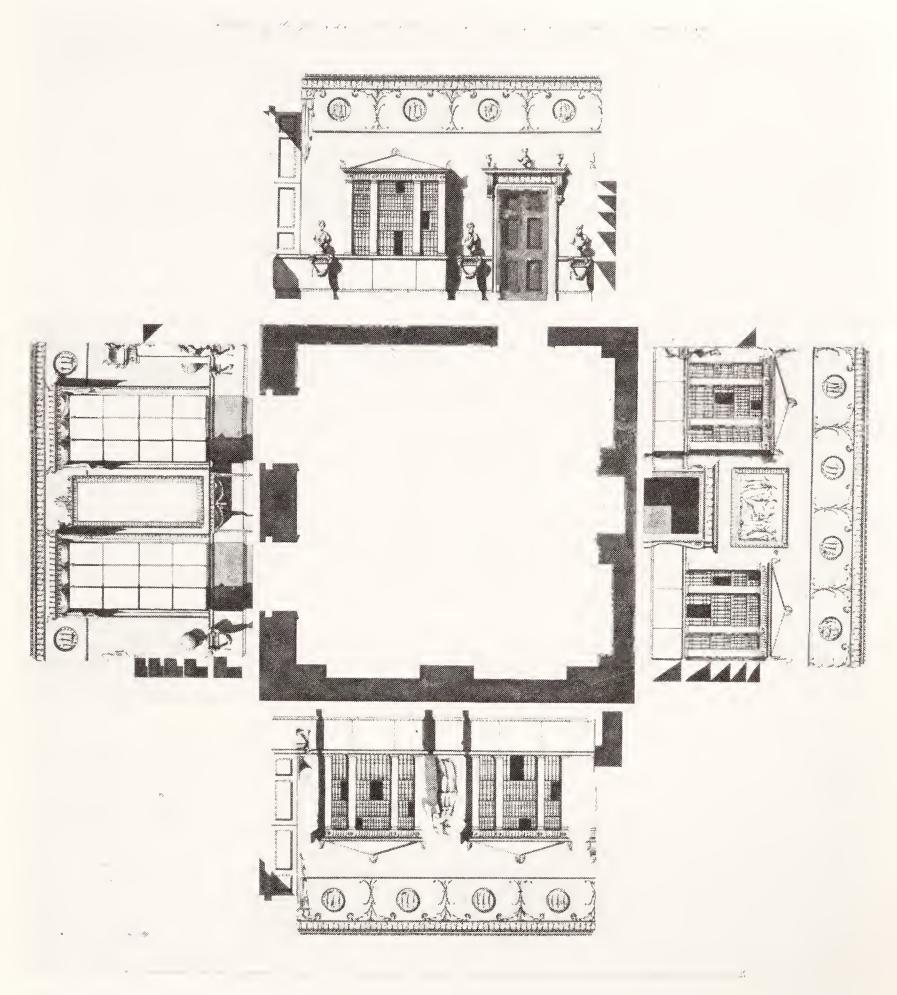


Plate 1. Robert Adam, 'Section of the four sides of the Study at Newby The Seat of William Weddell Esqr', c.1769.

Inside, on the ground floor, he was called on to modify the study. Adam had submitted designs for this room (Plate 1), but it had not proved satisfactory and Belwood offered revised drawings in which Adam's plasterwork and chimney piece, presumably already installed, are shown in schematic form while his elegant bookcases are swept away by Belwood's massively monumental substitutes (Plate 2). This room was considerably altered in the early nineteenth century and none of Belwood's work survives.

If somewhat restricted by Adam downstairs, Belwood was allowed a freeer rein on the first floor. Here he designed the 'blind' Venetian window and the arcade on the upper



Plate 2. William Belwood, design for alterations to the study at Newby Hall, c.1789.

landing as an echo of the marble columns below. This scheme is similar to two designs by William Chambers: that for York House, London, was exhibited in 1761 at the Society of Artists and another, for a staircase at Gower House, London, was built in about 1766 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 17706. Chambers had been consulted by William Weddell, the owner of Newby, before Adam was called in and had submitted designs for a boudoir⁷, so that it is possible that the arcade was developed from an idea left by him. Alternatively, Weddell or Belwood may have seen the exhibited drawings. This arcade provided a fitting approach to Belwood's 'State Lodging Appartment', a suite of three rooms (Plate 3). First came a circular dressing room, painted green, for which Belwood also designed an entablature with elegant claw-footed tripods, husk-chains and paterae. This room was equipped with 'chintz' upholstery to match that in the adjoining bedchamber which it served8 and the pictorial decorations, based on ancient Roman models, are thought to have been executed by Mrs. Weddell9. To the left followed a larger room, now much altered, which was originally to have a false semi-circular recess built out from the west side, behind which were powdering rooms. It was proposed that the recess, later changed to a rectangular shape, should have a ceiling decoration of stylised flowers and be flanked by pilasters with acanthus leaf capitals. Leading from the alcove room was a square bedchamber. This series of differently shaped spaces is

^{6.} J. Harris, Sir William Chambers, 1970, pp. 225, 234, pls. 94, 95, 98, 101, 102.

^{7.} CC 1/13. 3-11.

^{8.} An inventory of Newby Hall dated 1792 is at NH 2800.

⁹ E. Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1937, II, 1970, p. 290; pl. 95.

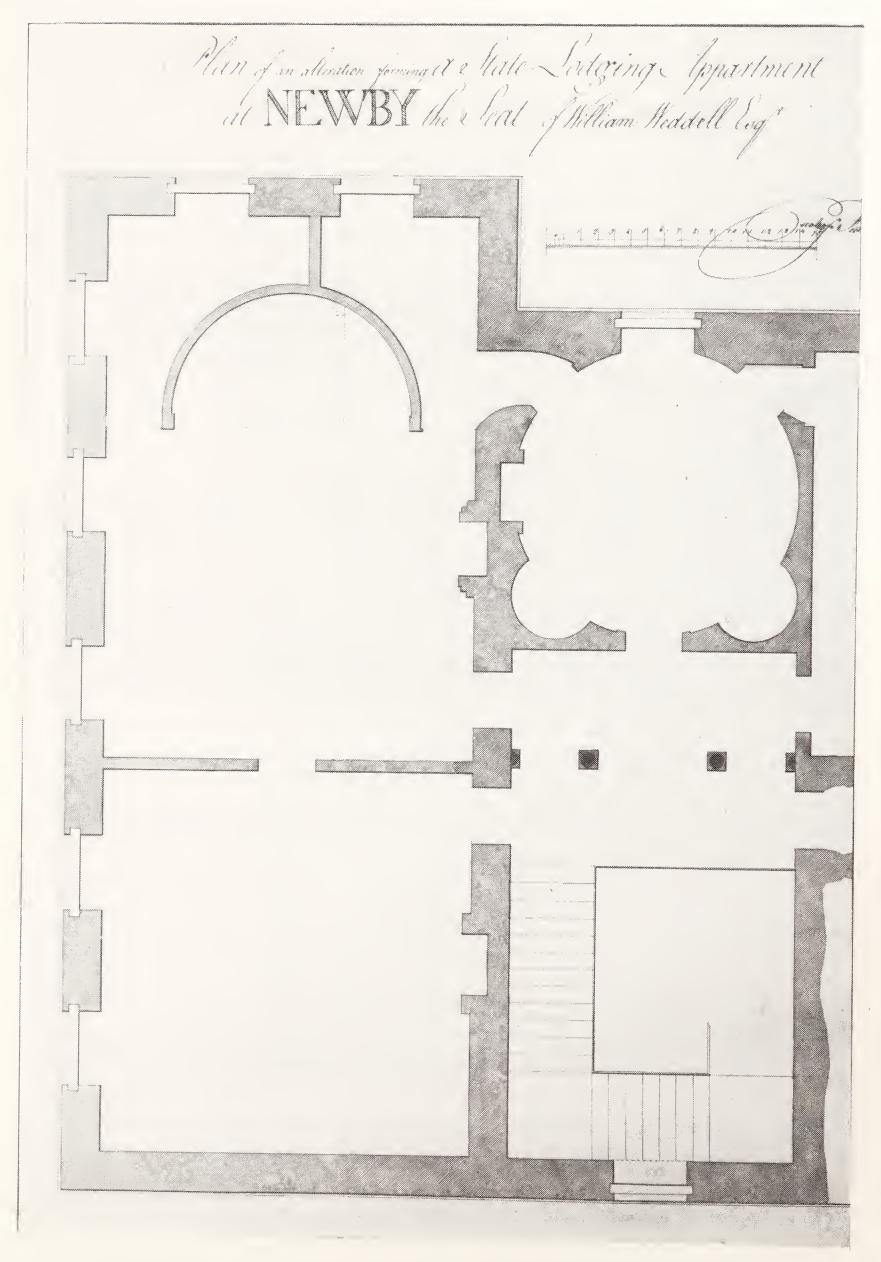


Plate 3. William Belwood, 'Plan of an alteration forming A State Lodging Appartment at NEWBY the Seat of William Weddell Esqr', c.1775.

indicative of Adam's influence on Belwood, who, in attempting to enhance an earlier, static arrangement, was testing ideas which were to be developed in his remodelling of Newby Park, which will be discussed later. The three rooms completed Belwood's initial plan, but some time before 1785 a further area was added over the first section of the sculpture gallery wing ¹⁰. For this last room, which was to cause trouble later ¹¹, Belwood suggested that the windows should be set in arched niches and the ceiling be coved, perhaps to provide a contrast to the adjacent plan. All three rooms on the south front (that is, excluding the circular dressing room) formed a suite for important guests and the whole was fashionably furnished with Jappanned ware, satinwood and grey-striped satin upholstery and was hung with Chinese wallpaper 'on which the flowers and foliage, birds and other figures, are represented in the most lively and beautiful colours' ¹².

In addition, Belwood was entrusted with remodelling the Weddells' private apartments on the opposite side of the house. For Mrs. Weddell's dressing room (a newly built area over part of the north wing, mirroring the last addition on the south) he proposed another semi-circular apse, this time having a closet to one side and a passage to the servants' stairs on the other (Plate 4, plan). Belwood was also responsible for constructing the nearby water-closets, work which was going on in 1785 when Weddell wrote, 'I am now returned to Belwood and Bramah's' 13, the latter being manufacturers of water-closets which had been patented in 177814.

Finally, Belwood provided drawings for the redecoration of the 'Principall Lodging Room' on the west front adjoining his circular dressing room. Being the largest chamber on this floor and near the grand staircase, this was no doubt used for guests before the south suite was completed. Belwood updated it by supplying over-door friezes of urns, husk-chains and palmettes, the design, which is clearly related to that of Adam's lost circular anteroom below¹⁵, being echoed in the cornice frieze and in a sumptuous chimney piece of 'Green Corsican' marble and 'vert antique', which was supported by Corinthian columns. Although the mouldings were executed, the chimney piece was

not, possibly because the room was superseded in importance by the new suite.

With the exception of the circular room, none of the bed-chambers at Newby Hall retains its eighteenth century decoration and most of Belwood's work has been altered or obliterated by later modifications. In contrast, a great deal of what he achieved on the exterior of the house and the outbuildings survives but has not hitherto been recognised

The addition of dressing rooms over the first part of each wing necessitated some alterations to the external embellishment and here Belwood raised John Carr's balustrade and added the decorative stone plaques on the central sections (Plate 4, facade). It has been surmised that the extra rooms were added before 1785 and this is confirmed by Weddell's friend, the Rev. William Palgrave, who wrote on December 29, 1784, presumably in response to a description of the work, that he did not 'comprehend perfectly your Building and the Balustrade' This entire operation was extremely beneficial as it improved the proportion of the wings in relation to the main body of the house. Carr's portico on the garden front of the south wing also required decoration and

10. Designs for this room are on the same sheet as that for a room in the flower garden; comments on the latter, presumably newly-completed room, dated 1785, are at L30/15/54/287.

12. E. Hargrove, The History of the Castle, Town and Forest of Knaresborough with Harrogate, 1789, p. 265.

13. RA 2c 60, Dec. 1785.

as his contribution.

^{11.} In 1883, when the Darlington architects, Clark and Moscrop, were consulted about dangerous cracks which had appeared in the chimney stack then still in position over the sculpture gallery, it was discovered that Belwood's dressing-room chimneypiece had been ineptly inserted into the original weight-relieving lunette (NH add. 354).

^{14.} M. Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 1978, p. 265.

^{15.} CC 1/11/1 (plan of the four walls); S 53(45) (frieze).

^{16.} RA 3b 94.

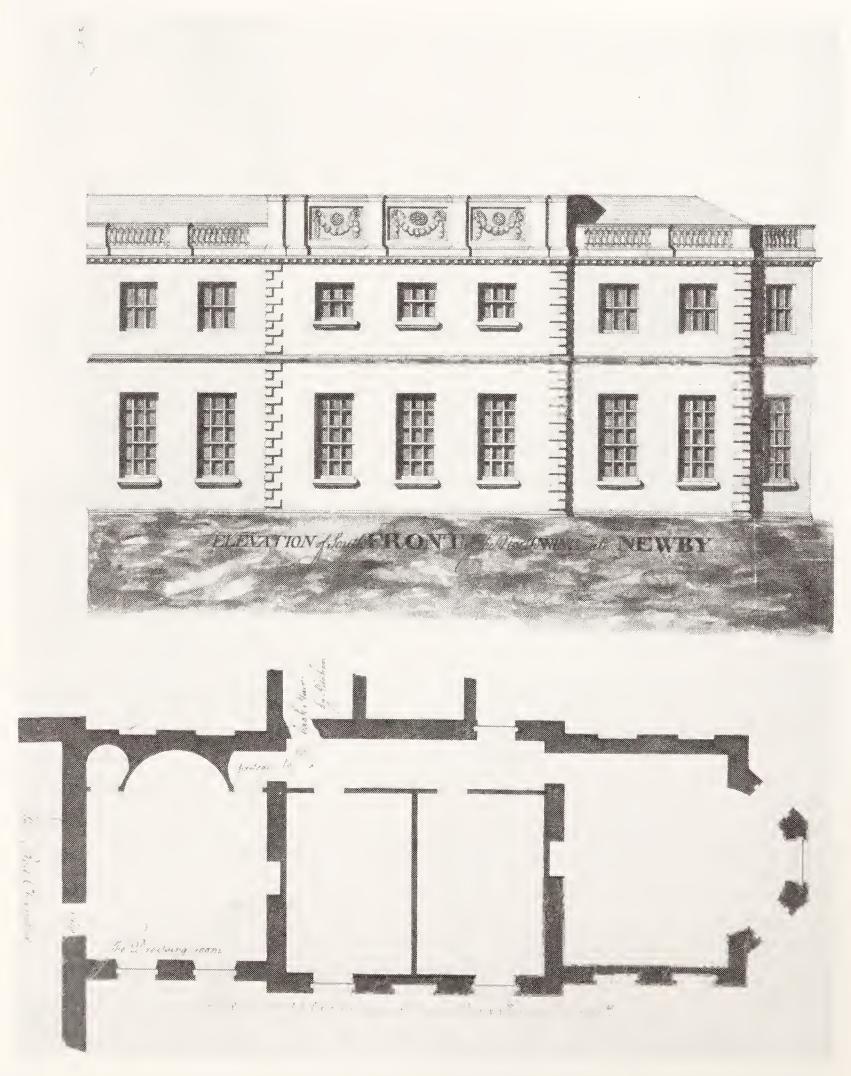


Plate 4. William Belwood, plan of the first floor of the north wing and 'ELEVATION of South FRONT of the North WING at NEWBY', c.1775.

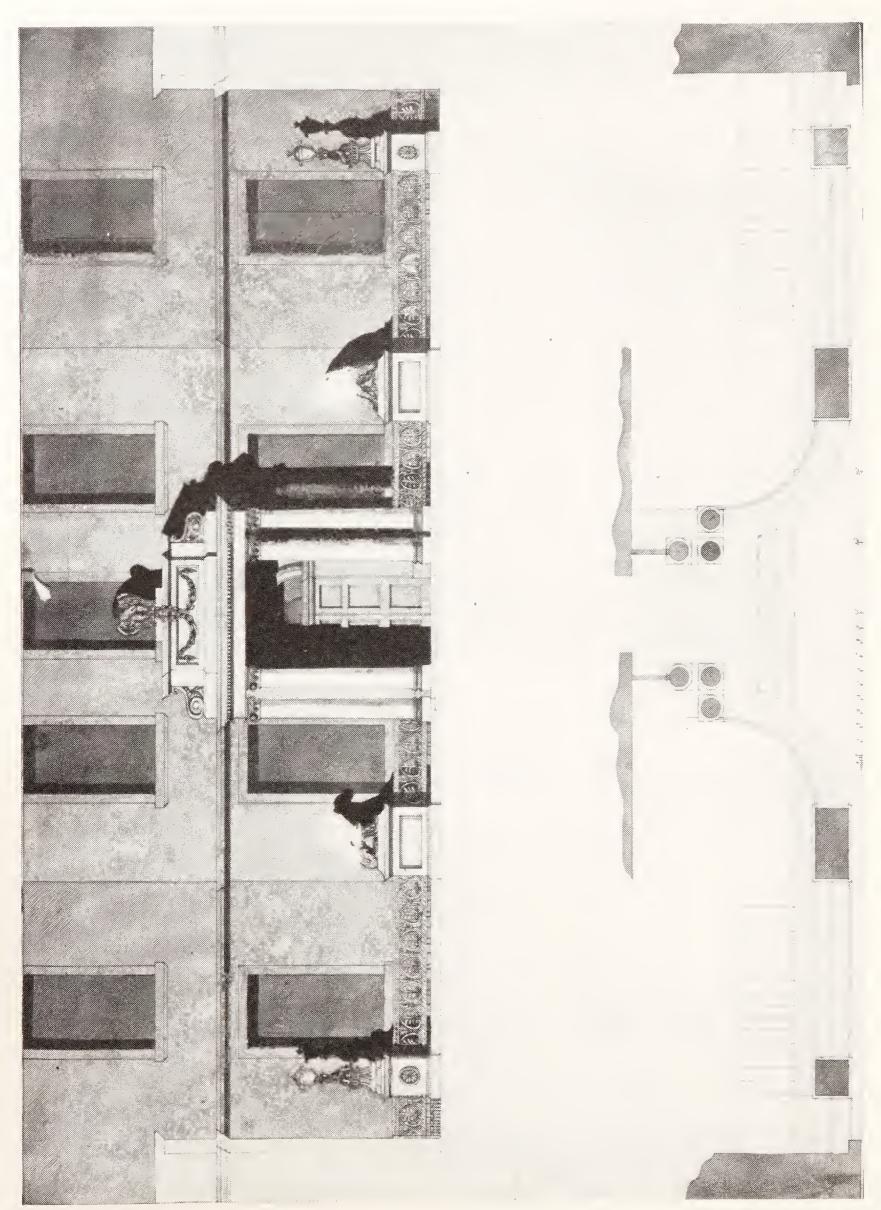


Plate 5. William Belwood, design for a new entrance porch and area, Newby Hall, c.1776.

Belwood submitted designs and in 1778 working drawings for the plaster ceiling. These plain soffits with conventional flower paterae remain, although the pavement is different to that suggested. Belwood also proposed closing the ends of the portico and adding heraldic devices to the entablature¹⁷, but these ideas were not executed.

At about the same time, Belwood offered a new entrance porch (Plate 5). Here he was in direct competition with Adam¹⁸, but Weddell preferred the simpler, more conservative and no doubt cheaper form suggested by Belwood in which the pediment is surmounted by an eagle, a motif particularly favoured by Weddell although it was not executed on this occasion. Reminiscent of Chambers's porch at Charlemont House, Dublin¹⁹, that at Newby affords an impressive entrance while the dolphin lamps and Phidian dogs provide a classical foretaste of the interior.

A similarly safe, Chambersian style with classical references is evident in Belwood's designs for the lodges and main gate (Plate 6). It would seem that an early idea was for a triumphal arch, but since this was the main approach to the estate, a more elaborate arrangement was required and Belwood proposed a pair of lodges so Palladian in style that they appear to have been erected fifty years earlier. Weddell worked closely with Belwood here and inspired, perhaps, by the so-called Tomb of Nero, annotations on the preliminary drawings in his hand suggested that the rusticated gate-posts should be crowned by antique cineraria very similar to one in his own collection. As executed the cineraria are not exact scholarly copies but, once again, they act as a prelude to what is to come within—Adam's stunning neoclassical scheme, designed to house and complement Weddell's celebrated collection of ancient sculpture. Belwood's dignified approach sets the scene well.

The same characteristics can be seen in his stable block (Plate 7)²⁰. On this occasion his rival was John Carr²¹, but yet again Weddell preferred the heavily Palladian ideas signed 'W. Belwood, York'. The drawings are not dated but it is certain that the stables were being built in 1777 when Weddell wrote, 'I am very busy in building stables'²² and described Newby as 'in all the rubbish and trouble of building stables'²³.

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that all the out-buildings at Newby were of a ponderous nature or that all Belwood's work was on the same conservative lines. His contribution to the garden buildings is less well documented but his plan for a hot house and hot walls in the kitchen garden is indicative of his versatility. He also helped the Weddells with their more fanciful projects. These included a small farm house, an escape from the exhausting formality of fashionable society, but by no means a genuine retreat to country life, where the Weddells had a parlour containing some painted 'Etruscan' furniture and tea-making equipment²⁴. It was probably for this room that Belwood submitted estimates for painting in 1776; he also seems to have provided basic scaled drawings on which Mrs. Weddell sketched her ideas for decoration in an advanced and exotic 'Indian' style. Mrs. Weddell and Belwood also cooperated about the embellishment of a billard room in the flower garde—he provided the basic drawing on which she drew monkeys and other animals in the manner of a French singerie²⁵.

Although he was increasingly engaged with other commissions, Belwood continued

^{17.} D/Penn/ Yorks houses.

^{18.} S 14(73), 1776, is a preliminary drawing, C 1/3/8 a more fully developed design.

^{19.} Harris, op.cit. in n.6, pl. 93.

^{20.} A similar set of designs is included in D/Penn/ Yorks, houses.

^{21.} ibid.

^{22.} L30/14/416/4.

^{23.} L30/14/416/5.

^{24.} NH 2800.

^{25.} For contemporary comment see L30/15/54/287 and Hargrove, op.cit. in n. 12, p. 309. Croft-Murray, op.cit. in n. 9, pp. 192-5 attributes the Newby Hall *singerie* to Andien de Clermont, but it is clearly too late for that artist, who returned to France in about 1754.

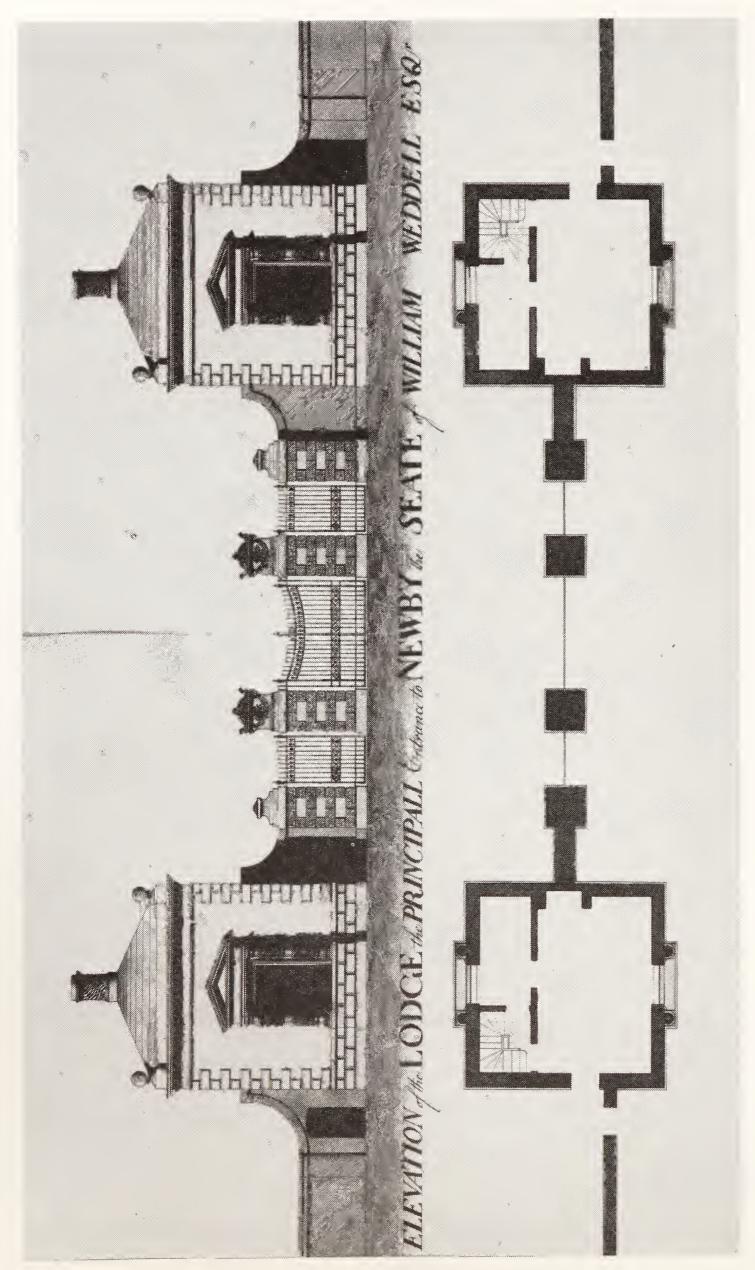
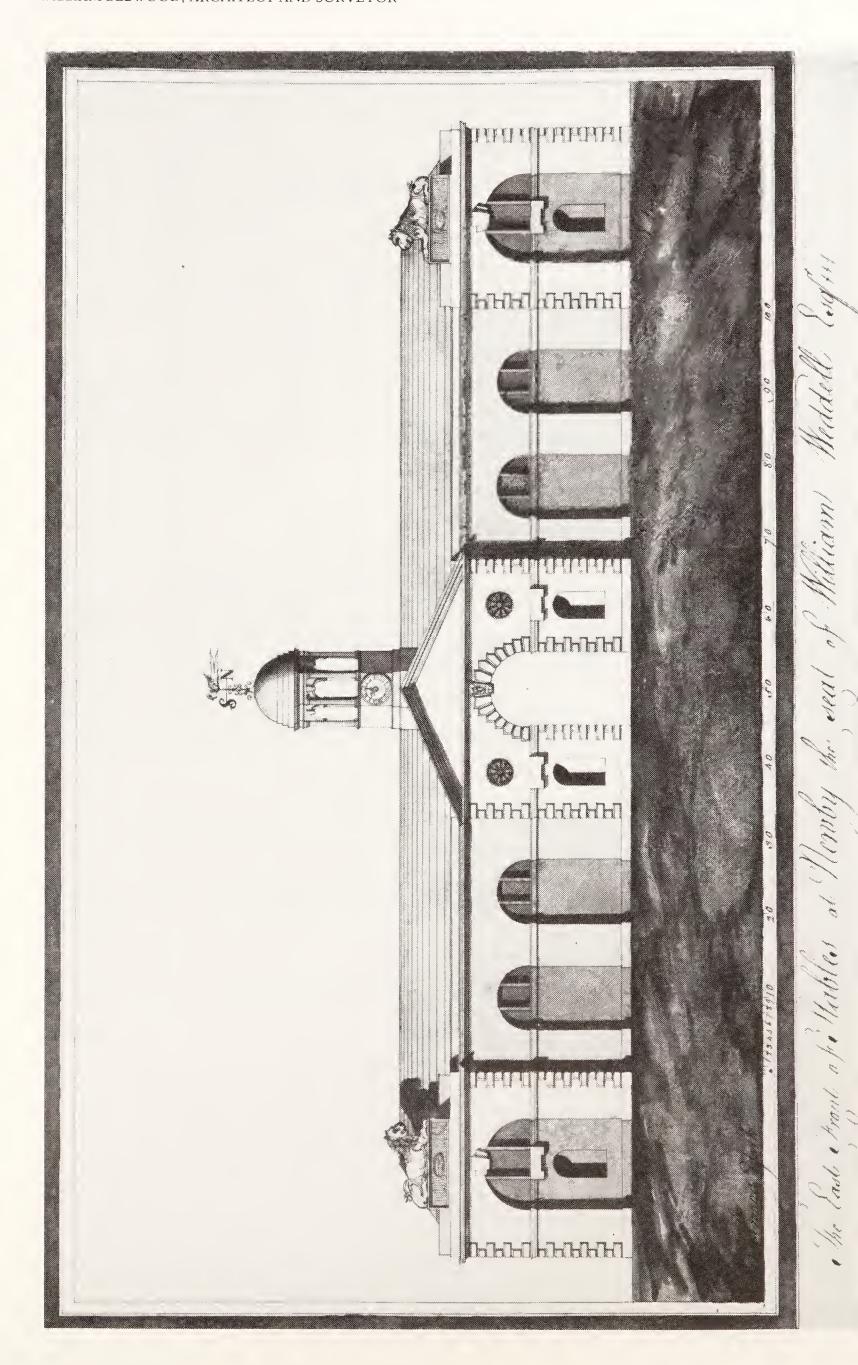


Plate 6. William Belwood, 'ELEVATION of the LODGE the PRINCIPALL Entrance to NEWBY the SEATE of WILLIAM WEDDELL ESQr', c.1777



William Belwood, 'The East Front of Stables at Newby the seat of William Weddell Esqr', c.1777. ſ.

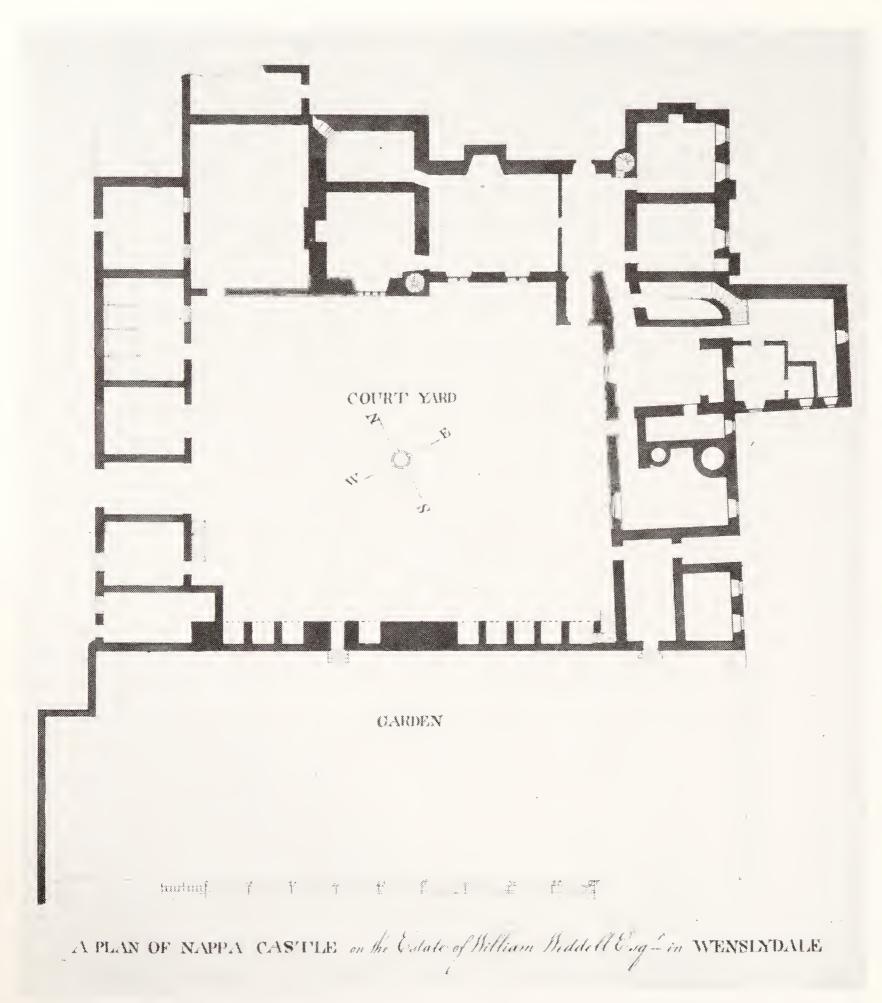


Plate 8. William Belwood, 'A PLAN OF NAPPA CASTLE on the Estate of William Weddell Esqr in WENSLYDALE', c.1790.

to work at Newby Hall until his death in 1790. He was involved in two other projects: the first was for an orangery or green house for which he submitted two designs, with and without windows, in a rather whimsical style which, with its decoration of masks and bowls perhaps indicated that this south-facing garden room was also intended for summer parties. Neither of these was executed, although Belwood's ideas contributed to the final design, drawn by Weddell himself and constructed in 1790, perhaps after Belwood's death. The second building erected at this time was an oval porch on the north side of the house convenient for the new stable block. Belwood certainly helped in planning this, providing detailed measurements and estimates for the stonework, and no doubt the final designs were discussed with him, but these are once again in Weddell's

hand and the porch was probably put up after Belwood had died. It was destroyed less than twenty years later when Weddell's heir, the third Baron Grantham, built a new dining room and vestibule. The orangery survives. Both were in the plainer, gentler style of Samuel Wyatt who had worked on Weddell's London house, an indication of Belwood's readiness to accept and adapt to new trends.

There remains one further collaboration of the Belwood-Weddell partnership. In 1802 the third Baron Grantham recalled that 'in Wensley Dale, very near Askrigg, are the remains either of an old Castle or Manor House which Mr. Weddell intended to fit up as a shooting box'26. He was clearly referring to Nappa Hall, built in 1450-9 by Weddell's ancestor, James Metcalfe, as a battlemented manor house and inherited by Weddell in 1762²⁷. Weddell obviously thought of it as a comfortable base from which to enjoy the grouse shooting on Askrigg Moor and Belwood's involvement in the scheme is demonstrated by his plan of 'Nappa Castle', suitably adapted for its new purpose (Plate 8). Although not executed, the hunting lodge is interesting as being this partnership's only excursion into the Gothick style. As will be shown, however, it was an idiom with which Belwood himself was very familar, being able to move easily between the classical and Gothick modes.

His adaptability and willingness to work to the client's taste was approved by Lady Grantham of Newby Park, wife of Weddell's relative, the second Baron, who wrote in October 1781, 'Mr. Belwood a Yorkshire Architect has the altering of the house who seems a very civil intelligent man and is not too great to execute other peoples schemes'28. Grantham was a talented amateur architect who favoured the rather old-fashioned Palladian style and it is evident that he was impressed by Belwood's work at Newby Hall for, when the time came to renovate his own nearby country house, Belwood was called in to assist. Built by Colen Campbell and William Etty, the original house consisted of the central block joined by arcades to two pavilions29. Grantham himself had made various adaptations in 1763³⁰ and many of his ideas were incoporated into Belwood's new plans. These included alterations to the main facade (Plate 9)31 and considerable remodelling of the interior (Plates 10, 12), which on the lower floor involved creating a new vestibule on the east and converting the western gallery into a library with simple, rather massive bookcases; but the most exciting innovation was the grandly elegant new oval stair adorned with a new banister and lit by a skylight, which replaced Campbell's original twin flights and created a much more imposing effect³². Although not at all similar in itself to the great stairs at Newby Hall, the blind 'Venetian' window there is echoed by another on the landing at Newby Park, which admits light to the enclosed area beyond.

At the same time Belwood also drew up plans for a completely new upper floor. Here his experience at Newby Hall can be clearly discerned in the series of differently shaped rooms, including a suite for Lady Grantham which took up the entire western side. It was approached through a central oval vestibule which led to the bedchamber and dressing room; behind it was a wardrobe with fitted mahogany clothes presses.

^{26.} NH 2960/28, March 1802.

W. C. and G. Metcalfe, Records of the Family of Metcalfe, 1891, provide a full history; a briefer version is in H. Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, 1897, pp. 460-70 and the house is also described by E. Pontefract and M. Hartley, Wensleydale, 1936, pp. 132-5.

^{28.} L30/11/240/4.

C. Campbell, Vitravius Britannicus, III, 1725, p. 3; pl. 46; and L. Boynton, 'Newby Park, the First 29. Palladian Villa in England', in H. Colvin and J. Harris (eds.), The Country Seat, 1970, pp. 97-105.

^{30.} CC 4/1/2-13.

A sketch by Grantham (L33/276) and J. P. Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, 31. Wales, Scotland and Ireland, 1822, V. show the facade as executed.

Harris, op.cit., p. 239, pl. 75 has attributed Plate 12 to Chambers, but, when seen in conjunction with 32. Belwood's other designs for Newby Park, it is clearly one of the set.

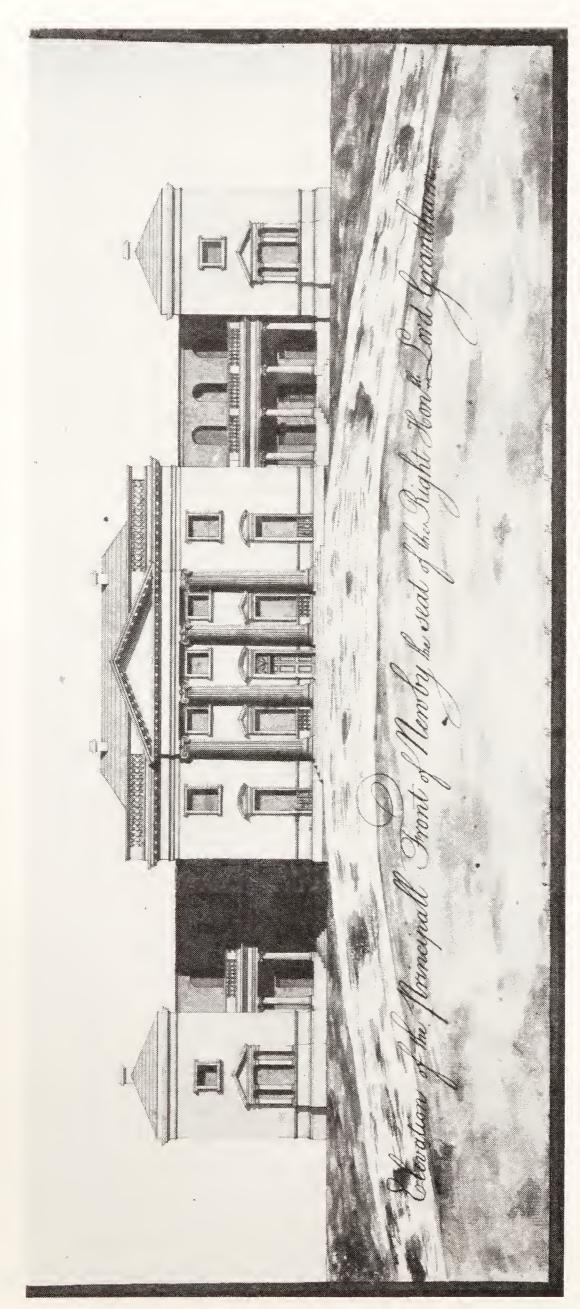


Plate 9. William Belwood, 'Elevation of the Principall front of Newby [Park] the Seat of the Right Honble Lord Grantham', 1780.

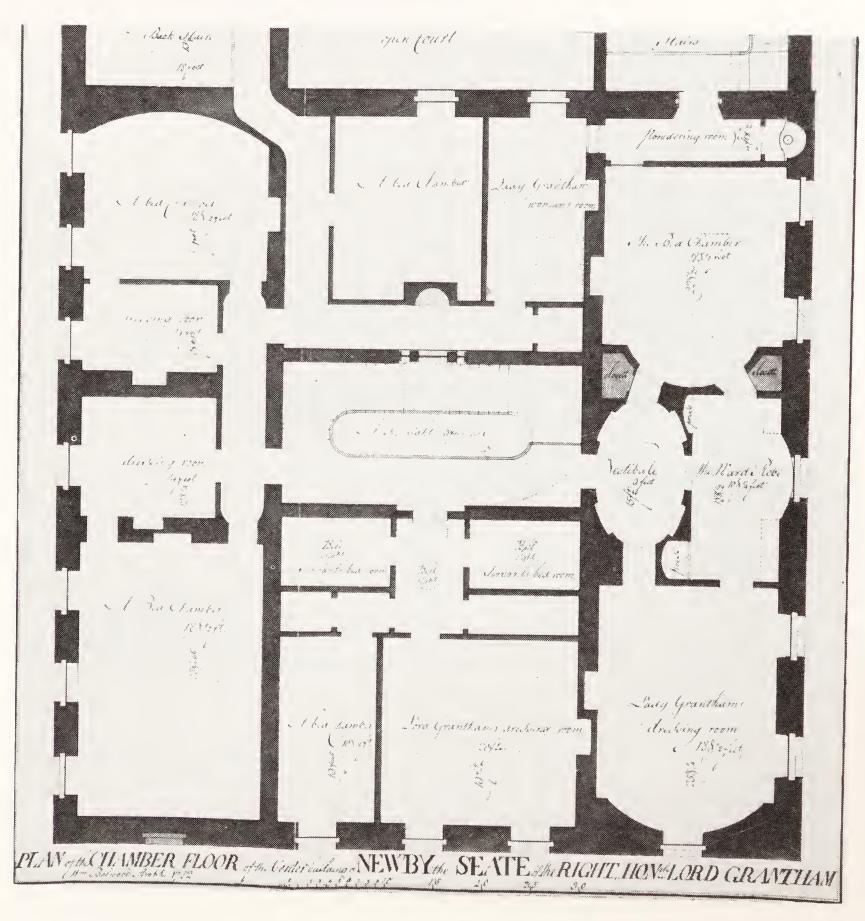


Plate 10. William Belwood, 'PLAN of the CHAMBER FLOOR of the Center building of NEWBY the Seate of the RIGHT, HONble LORD GRANTHAM', 1782.

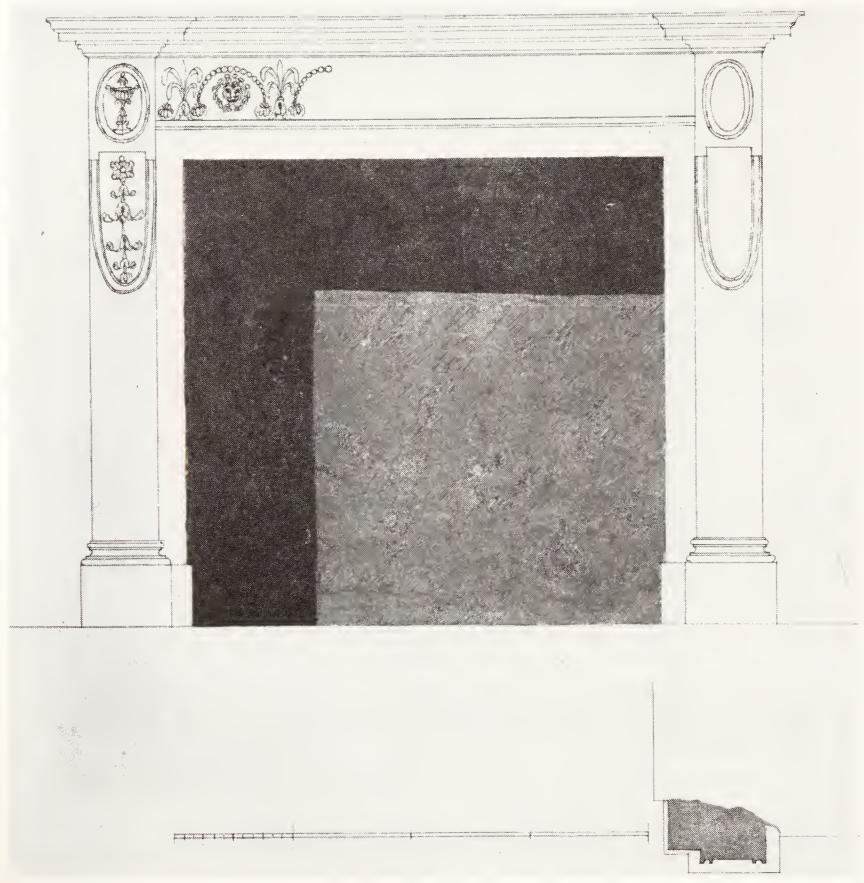


Plate 11. William Belwood, design for a chimney piece, identical to that in the parlour at Norton Conyers, c. 1783.

As at Newby Hall, Belwood seems to have complete control over the upper floor, which was given priority. His first plans are dated 1780 and in August 1781 Lady Grantham wrote, 'The House, having had an entire new Roof, has therefore more done to it than can appear, as the Apartment for ourselves over the long Gallery, is only divided and stuccoed; there not being time to finish it . . . the rooms which are very conveniently disposed . . . are to be finished next Year, and a new Staircase made, besides another Bedchamber new furnished'³³. Work went according to plan, for the following year she reported, 'as the Painters do not totally finish in my own new Apartment till tomorrow, it is impossible to fix any time for moving into it, though in a month's time I should be willing to flatter myself I might be settled in it; the Green Paper is up and looks very well; indeed the whole Apartment promises to be extreamely neat and elegant'³⁴.

^{33.} L30/11/270/18.

^{34.} L30/11/240/22.

By 1783 Lady Grantham's sister, Lady Polwarth, was able to say 'my Sister's Apartment is a very pretty one, and the Bedchambers fitted last year, are also very neat. The Wing for the Nursery is now rebuilding, so that on the East Side of the House, the Grass is cover'd with Rubbish and Workmen'; downstairs, however, had still to be tackled: 'The Rooms below Stairs in the House are of good Sizes, but old and ill-decorated, or rather not at all so'35. Here Belwood worked closely with Grantham, each providing designs for different areas. For the entrance hall Belwood offered a ceiling design of square and rectangular coffers, each containing a flowered patera and an exploded view in which he suggested relieving the plain walls with simple geometric plaster divisions. This did not fully please the patron, for in November 1785 Grantham wrote to his brother, 'I think I shall improve Belwood's design for ye Hall Chimney Piece'36. Neverhtless, work progressed: in September Lady Polwarth had reported 'the Hall is almost finished'37 and three weeks later Lady Grantham wrote, 'the Pillars in the Hall are put up and make a very good appearance'38.

Lady Polwarth also related that 'the Drawing-room and Dining-room [are] pull'd to Pieces in the Hopes of finishing them next Year' and Lady Grantham that 'Plaisterers from London have begun the Eating Room from Ld. Grantham's design for the Cornish, and that he is up to his Ears (as the saying is) in drawing Paper & Pencils, making designs for Ceilings for that room and for the Drawing room and Vetibule' Grantham's designs for the dining room and vestibule survive, as does Belwood's for the frieze and cornice of the drawing room. This last is actually drawn by Grantham although he admits 'Belwood invt.' Of a soft yellow colour above a wall covered in green damask, this design, with its palmettes, husk chains and the umbrella motif adapted from Piranesi and used by Mrs. Weddell for her farm house, is more complicated and Adamesque than anything by Grantham. It was executed in 1785 and Grantham related that Belwood was 'mch pleased with the Ceiling of the Drawing Room and assisted me in trying fires in the

new Chimneys'42.

There remained the conversion of the gallery into a library for which Belwood suggested the addition of several large book-cases. These were not made until after Grantham's death in 1786 for in the following year his executor wrote that he had asked for this to be done, ⁴³ a task which was carried out by the carpenter, Redgrave, who frequently worked with Belwood.

Grantham's own designs for many of the outbuildings at Newby Park indicate that he was particularly interested in this area⁴⁴ so that Belwood was not asked to make a contribution here. There is, however, a drawing of a little Gothick building, 'a Shed as an object from the Road Newby', in his hand but it is not known whether it was ever built.

Belwood clearly spent a great deal of time working at Newby Hall and Newby Park. No record remains of what he received from Weddell. Among the items listed in a 'Schedule of Papers of Writeings in the Stone Room Newby 1789'⁴⁵ appears 'Mr. Belwood Genl. Accot. and Vouchers' but the documents themselves are unfortunately lost. His work at Newby Park is better recorded. He was not only entrusted with the

^{35.} L30/9/60/287.

^{36.} L30/15/54/283.

^{37.} L30/11/240/33.

^{39.} L30/9/60/323.

^{40.} L30/11/240/33.

^{41.} This design was later incorporated into his son's designs for a new dining room at Newby Hall (CC 1/15/5, 8, 12, 14, 15).

^{42.} L30/15/54/288.

^{43.} L30/13/19.

^{44.} For an examination of one such building, see J. Low, 'Lord Grantham's Root House', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 84 (1979), pp. 5-14.
45. VR 5571.

major alterations, but also seems to have acted as a jobbing builder, eliminating damp, attending to joinery and many other small repairs ⁴⁶. He continued to be involved with the house after Grantham's death in 1786, although it is evident that, since the family was left in straitened circumstances, many of their plans had to be curtailed. There is no account of what he received from Grantham but after the patron's death scrupulous records were kept and several payments are listed, including £425 'on account' in 1787 and the last being for £25 10s. 0d. on May 16, 1789, just a year before Belwood's own death ⁴⁷. His work and Grantham's were swept away when Newby Park was gutted by fire in 1902.

It is almost certain that Weddell introduced Belwood to Grantham and that his work for these two clients led to further opportunities. Belwood was duly grateful; in the elections for the county of York in 1784 he is reported as being 'very properly a strenuous supporter of Mr. Weddel'48. In their turn, the Granthams also recommended him to friends and neighbours. Their advice was not always followed; in December 1783 Grantham's brother, Frederick Robinson, wrote, 'I am very sorry Lord Mulgrave does not employ Belwood and cannot conceive why he prefers Mickle's [the joiner] recommendation of an Architect to that of the only Gentleman in England . . . who has good and real Taste'49. In the event, John Soane altered Mulgrave Hall in 1786, but it is of interest that Grantham favoured Belwood. A year later Frederick expressed the hope that Sir Thomas Frankland would employ Belwood at Thirkleby Hall, which was being extensively remodelled by the Wyatt brothers⁵⁰. No other reference to Belwood's work there has been traced but it is possible that he was called in if James Wyatt gave his customary cause for dissatisfaction.

More successful recommendations were made to Sir Bellingham Graham and Sir John Ingilby⁵¹. The account book of the former, who lived at Norton Conyers, near Ripon, records payments to Belwood during the years 1781-6 and it was during this period that the stable block was built⁵². A four-square, simple design, this and the Wath entrance arch are characteristic of Belwood's Palladian style and may well be his work. At this time also, bays were added on either side of the main door and the dining room and parlour extensively refurbished. The dining room has an appropriate cornice of tipped amphorae and thyrsi, while the ceiling of the parlour has a heavier pattern of husk chains. A payment to Belwood for 'moldings' may refer to this room, which also has a marble chimney piece for which the design in Belwood's hand survives (Plate 11).

In addition, it is now clear that Belwood was responsible for the considerable modifications which Sir John Ingilby had made to Ripley Castle during the seventeeneighties. The earliest recorded payment to him, possibly for a plan, is for £2.18.8 in April 1783⁵³ and the extent of his involvement is evident from a payment of £678.13.6 for 'Checks on Tradesmen' and a further £53.6.6 in January 1786⁵⁴. These pages of Sir John's account book are annotated 'N.B. All the Papers relating Mr. Belwood's Acct. are wrapped up and number'd 549 with Bills and Receipts'. It is regretable that bundle 549 has not yet been traced but it is certain that Belwood was the supervising architect at

^{46.} A memorandum 'left with Mr. Belwood and Redgrave' in 1786 is concerned with minor tasks (L26/1489) and there are 19 letters to Belwood about general repairs (L30/15/7/1-19); he was also consulted about damp (L30/25/53/1).

^{47.} NH 1797A.

^{48.} L30/14/333/275.

^{49.} L30/14/333/337.

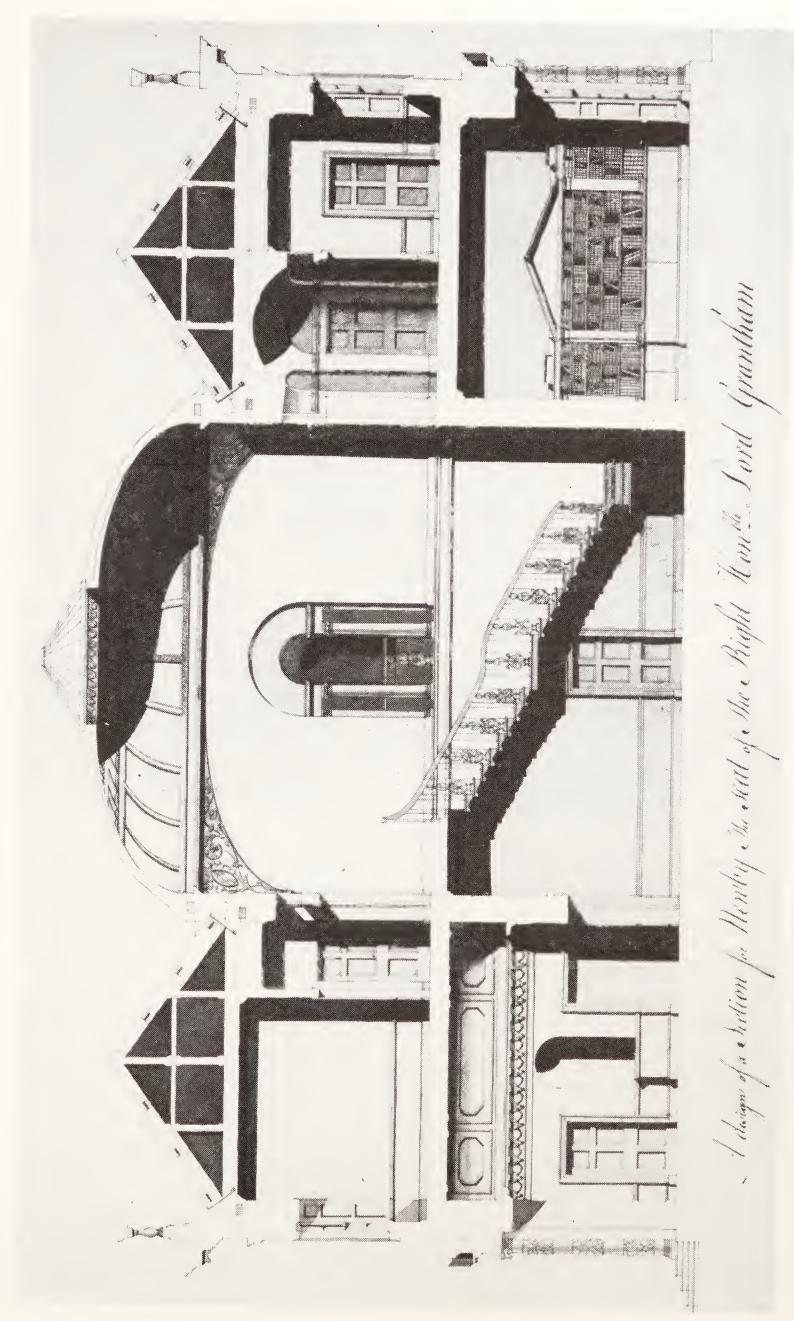
^{50.} L30/14/333/296.

^{51.} In 1784 Frederick Robinson wrote that Belwood was 'expected at Sir Bellingham's and Sir John Ingoldsby's' (L30/14/333/272).

^{52.} I am most grateful to the late Sir Richard Graham for showing me his ancestor's account book and discussing the history of his house.

^{53.} Ing. 1879.

^{54.} Ing. 1882.



William Belwood' 'A design of a Section for Newby, The Seat of The Right Honble. Lord Grantham', c.1782. Plate 12.



Plate 13. St. Helen's Church, Burton Leonard, built, possibly with the advice of William Belwood, c.1780, demolished 1878.

Ripley and that many craftsmen who worked under him elsewhere were also employed there.

Work at Ripley included the demolition of the medieval banqueting hall and chapel and the construction of a new entrance hall, staircase and drawing rooms as well as the erection of new stables and garden buildings and alterations to the porter's lodge. References to the new hall commence in 1784, the year in which John Ripling and George Lockey (or Kiplin and Lockie, as they are listed elsewhere) were paid £10 'for pulling down the old House'⁵⁵. When completed, the hall, which is approached through a Doric column screen, with its rounded end, niches and skylight, bears a distinct resemblance to Belwood's contemporary work at Newby Park and the curving staircase, with a stained glass window by Peckett of York, is characterisitic of his manipulation. The new stables,

^{55.} Ing. 1884.

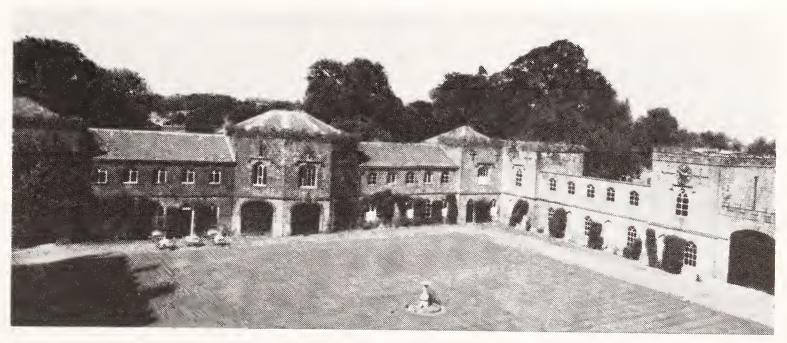


Plate 14. William Belwood, stable block at Ripley Castle, 1786.

in a rather weak Gothick style (Plate 14), were started in 1786⁵⁶; Lockey and Ripling were 'Breaking Stones for the Tower' in 1787⁵⁷ and 'Breaking Stones for the Potters Lodge&c' in 1788⁵⁸. Belwood's preliminary drawing of the building⁵⁹ (which was slated in 1790⁶⁰) shows the gabled roofs before his crenellation. Although one Isaac Whitelock was paid £1.1.0 for a plan of a hot house in 1781⁶¹, the present orangery, part of which was demolished after the first world war, must be the work of Belwood, who drew up plans for its balustrade⁶², while a drawing by him of a sundial⁶³ may be connected with it. It is also probable on stylistic grounds that Belwood was responsible for the small classical temple in the gardens at the far end of a path leading from the orangery.

The combination of classical interior and Gothick exterior at Ripley is an interesting amalgam of the two styles most frequently used by Belwood. At Newby Hall and Newby Park his work was almost exclusively classical, but his ready adaptation to the Gothick at Ripley and Nappa (both older houses) is evidence of his sympathy for these medieval buildings, no doubt developed by his work on several local churches ⁶⁴. In 1779 the people of Burton Leonard near Ripon complained that their church was so ruinous that 'the parishioners cannot assemble therin for public worship of Almighty God without manifest danger of their lives'; they further reported that 'William Belwood, an able and experienced workman . . . has carefully viewed the church and made an estimate of the charge of taking down and rebuilding same, which upon a moderate computation

^{56.} Ing. 1885. Evidence of Belwood's lack of technical skill is provided by the present owner of Ripley Castle, Sir Thomas Ingilby, who writes: 'When the 1783 part of the castle was built, little effort was made to "tie in" the floor levels on the first floor of the new and existing wings, and this chronic oversight reappears in every subsequent wing. It is as though each wing was designed on a separate sheet of paper and no account taken of heights when the next wing was drawn up. This occurs even in the stable block with almost comical results. We are also experiencing severe structural problems with the stable block, in that it was built without foundations on a thin layer (2' 6") of Topsoil, under which lies 23' of very soft, very wet sand . . . It is almost inevitable that several thousand pounds worth of steel will be added to Belwood's design'.

^{57.} Ing. 1892.

^{58.} Ing. 1895.

^{59.} Ing. 3774.

^{60.} Ing. 1899.

^{61.} Ing. 1876.

^{62.} Ing. 2532.

^{63.} Ing. 3783.

^{64.} Drawings for both a new gallery at St. Peter's, Leeds (1778) and the rebuilding of the church at Skelton (1785) (BIHR FAC 1778/1 and 1785/2) may well be in Belwood's hand, but without supporting evidence any attribution must be speculative.

amounts to the sum of 1038li. 17s. 3d, exclusive of the old materials'65. Accordingly, the thirteenth century church of St. Leonard was taken down and possibly with some help from Belwood, for the design is characteristic, the plain, four-square church of St. Helen was substituted (Plate 13). This, in its turn, was condemned nearly a century later; publishing designs for a new church by G. Hodgson Fowler, *The Architect* (January 27, 1877) commented 'The existing church at Burton-Leonard is a small mean building of the middle of the last century, poorly built, and in so bad a state of repair that divine service cannot be held in it during the winter months. It has therefore been determined to

build an entirely new church . . . to commence in the spring, 66.

During these years Belwood was also very fully involved with alterations to All Saints, Pavement, York. In 1778, the original chancel being sacrificed to road widening, he drew up plans for a new east end in the same rather uninspired Gothick style that he was to use at Ripley (Plate 15)⁶⁷ and three years later the parish council petitioned 'to erect and Build a new End wall wth. 3 windows to adjoin to the Body of the Chh . . . at the East end thereof togr. wth. a New Altar Table Communion Rails & Steps pursuant to the Plans annexed . . . All wch. have been approved of at a publick Vestry for that purpose had'68. The petition was duly granted and on August 17, 1781 Belwood wrote out detailed 'Instructions for the Alterations of All Saints Church in the Pavement York', which it was hoped would be completed by the end of 178269. He also recruited the craftsmen: stonemason, Thomas Robinson⁷⁰, and joiner, Matthew Wilkinson, who was to work 'under the Inspection of Mr. Bellwood'71. The meticulous nature of Belwood's supervision is recalled by two estimates: one, from Robinson, was 'for the compleating the Steps and floor to the Alter . . . the Steps of good new Braham moor Stone . . . the floor of Old Stone and old Marble according to a design by William Belwood and compleated to his approbation'72; the second, from Wilkinson, although written in Belwood's hand and witnessed by him in January 1783 (the Committee having agreed the previous month that 'Mr. Belwood shall agree on Terms for the Wood Work of the Altar Place'), was 'for Joiners work for the Altar and its railing . . . of good yellow deal . . . with its severall carved works and moldings according to the designs delivered by Mr. William Belwood . . . to the approbation of the said William Belwood'73. The following month Belwood certified completion of Robinson's work on the altar⁷⁴ and recorded notes about the position of the pulpit and pews, Adding 'Mr. Mattw. Wilkinson promises to constantly employ three proper Journeymen Joiners, and will have the inside of the Church compleated on or before the first day of June 1783'75.

Work on All Saints was no doubt finished soon after this. In 1785 possibly through the

67. A preliminary drawing, also dated 1778, is at BIHR FAC 1781/2; PR. Y/ASP F17/9 is an elevation of the west end proposing the addition of an ogee-shaped porch.

^{65.} YAJ XVII (1902), pp. 59-60. It is also recorded that as the parishioners were so poor, a public subscription was raised to pay for the new church; trustees included Harry Duncombe, a close friend of William Weddell of Newby Hall. This poverty may account for the extreme simplicity of the executed design and the poor quality of its construction.

^{66.} H. F. Diggle, Burton Leonard Past and Present, 1951, pp. 72-3. I am grateful for discussion with Mr. Diggle.

^{68.} BIHR FAC 1781/2. Dr. Butler reports that Belwood's plan is mentioned in the York Council records as showing parts of the chancel and churchyard which were to be given up to extend the market (House Book 45, p. 49).

^{69.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/1.

^{70.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/3.

^{71.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/4.

^{72.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/8, endorsed 'Examined by Mr. Belwood'.

^{73.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/9.

^{74.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/11.

^{75.} BIHR PR Y/ASP/25/10. All Saints was again substantially altered in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*, V, 1981, p. 2).

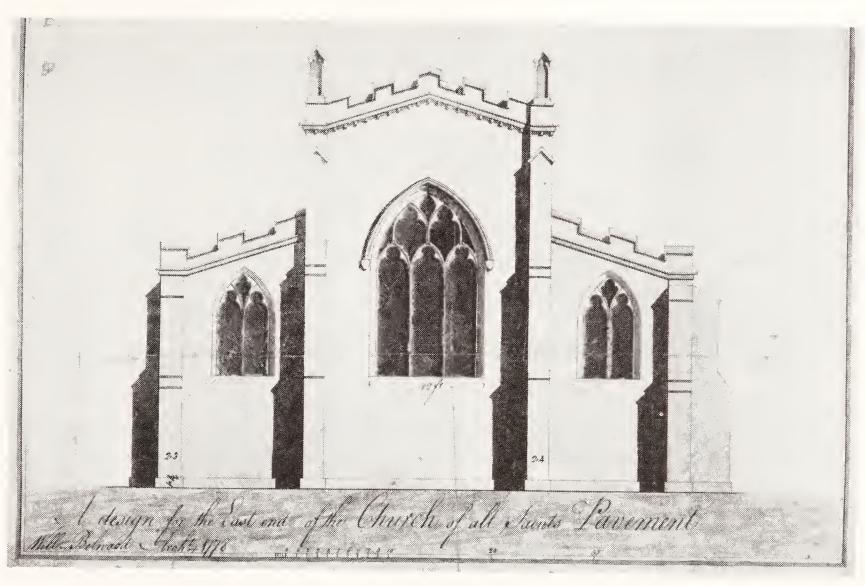


Plate 15. William Belwood, 'A design for the East end of the Church of all Saints Pavement', 1778.

good offices of his friend and neighbour, Thomas Haxby, who was the Parish Clerk, Belwood submitted plans for a new gallery at St. Michael le Belfrey, York⁷⁶ and in the following year 'the two cross aisles were taken up and divided into pews at a cost of £18.4s.7. Mr. Belwood was the architect'; an oak pulpit, two reading desks and new pews cost a further £68.10s.0d.⁷⁷

This involvement with the churches in York is perhaps indicative of Belwood's growing consequence in the city. On January 15, 1780 he was elected as one of the twenty or so commoners for Bootham ward and attended over half of the 91 possible meetings of the City Council before his death. During this time, on May 7, 1781 he was also elected one of a committee 'for pulling down the houses fronting the Mansion House' and making improvements and just over eighteen months later (on January 28, 1783), he was one of a committee for deciding on alterations at the Mansion House, work which included making large, round-headed windows on the ground floor of the front elevation and, perhaps, installing on the upper floor the marble chimney piece which is said to have come from the Adam brothers' disastrous project at the Adelphi in London. Apart from his architectural contribution, his colleagues must have respected Belwood's efficiency and business acumen since he was also on at least two occasions one of those chosen to audit the late Lord Mayor's accounts. His death of apoplexy on May 21, 1790 at the age of 50 was recorded with regret by the York newspapers and carried to a wider,

^{76.} BIHR FAC 1785/1.

^{77.} Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers, XXXVII, p. 113.

^{78.} I am again indebted to Dr. Butler for this information; see also RCHM, op.cit. in n.75, pp. 97-8. Belwood's name, listed in Bailey's Directory of 1781, is not included in 1784. A possible explanation may lie in his increasing workload at this time, although rival architects, such as John Carr and Thomas Atkinson, continued to be listed.

national public by the Gentleman's Magazine.79

With major independent work on four country houses and at least two churches in addition to alterations to the York Mansion House clearly documented, it is evident that Belwood can no longer be ignored. He may not have achieved the national prominence of his master, Robert Adam, nor maybe the local popularity of his rival, John Carr. He was obviously very greatly influenced by Adam, but his style was in general heavier and more conservative, in some respects akin to the plainer idiom of William Chambers. However, Belwood lacked both the meticulous classical scholarship of the national, well-known architects, and Carr's delicate sense of proportion. His draughtsmanship was mediocre, his technical competence has since been shown to have been sometimes questionable, and his designs were often derivative. But his undogmatic and practical approach must have been attractive to many patrons and it seems likely that his contribution to Yorkshire architecture was more extensive than has been appreciated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the owners of the following documents for permission to reproduce them and to the staff of the libraries for their help in locating them. The abbreviations are those used in the footnotes.

BIHR The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.

CC Mr. R. Compton's collection, Newby Hall.

D/Penn Pennington-Ramsden MSS, Carlisle Record Office.

Ing Ingilby MSS, Leeds City Archives.

L Lucas, MSS, Bedfordshire County Record Office.

NH Newby Hall MSS, Leeds City Archives. RA Ramsden MSS, Leeds City Archives.

S Drawings in Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

VR Vyner MSS, Leeds City Archives.

Plates 1-12: drawings in the Compton Collection at Newby Hall, photographed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

Plate 13: photograph taken before demolition by an unknown photographer.

Plate 14: photograph from Ripley Castle estate office.

Plate 15: drawing in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (PR Y/ASP F17/8) photographed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

York Courant, 25 May 1790; York Chronicle, 28 May 1790; see also Gentleman's Magazine, 1790, I, p. 482. His burial is recorded in BIHR PR Y/HEL/3, 138v. In his will of 4 March 1785 (PIHR Prog. July 1791) Belwood named as trustees his two friends, Thomas Haxby, musical instrument maker of York, and George Carter, yeoman of Oswaldkirk. He seems never to have married and the main beneficiaries were therefore his sister, Ann Belwood, and his nephew, John Durham (see n. 1). Also mentioned were Mrs. Elizabeth Briggs of Leeds and her daughter, Christiana, and Belwood's godsons, John Dews of Martoncum-Grafton and John Carter. In view of Belwood's architectural practice, it is of interest to note that the following were asked to accept mourning rings: 'my good Friends Mr. William Popplewell of Plumpton [the estate of Edwin Lascelles's brother, Daniel], Mr. Robert Johnson of Harewood House, Mr. Christopher Ianson of Newby [Hall], Mrs. Jane Dews of Marton cum Grafton, Mr. George Hayes of Norton Conyers, Mr. Rice Price of Newby [?Park]'. However, apart from his property in York, comprising 2 houses, 4 stables, 2 coach houses, garden and stoneyard (which no doubt housed the stock of marble listed in his will), which his sister and trustees sold on May 2, 1792 to the plasterer, Ely Crabtree, for £750, Belwood did not have a great deal of disposable wealth. Instead of having an inventory made of his 'Goods, Chattles and Credits', Haxby and Carter declared 'that the whole value of [his] . . . Personal Estate and Effects wod. not at the time of his Death amount to One hundred Pounds'.

THE YORKSHIRE TEAZLE-GROWING TRADE

By R. A. McMILLAN

The growing of the fuller's teazle is a comparatively little-known aspect of the agricultural history of the Vale of York and Humberside. Nevertheless, for a century and a half or more up to World War I, teazle growing was carried on over an area which at one time extended into parts of all three former ridings, and in some places the cultivation of the crop became a recognised feature of local agriculture. Although growing was never undertaken on the same scale as it was in the West of England, during the nineteenth century Yorkshire was the principle English teazle-growing district outside the West of England, and according to more than one source, produced the finest teazles. Although the methods of the teazle growers were similar to those followed elsewhere in this country, in Yorkshire the growing trade produced a number of characteristics of its own, one of which has been perpetuated in the West Riding teazle commerce until fairly recently.

Teazle growing is a speciality branch of agriculture which exists solely to provide teazles for raising the nap on certain cloths and fabrics during the finishing stages of manufacture, chiefly, but not exclusively, in the woollen industry. In this country, the history of the crop can be traced back to the middle ages. The business has always been a speculative one, for the fuller's teazle (Dipsacus fullonum) is a Mediterranean plant which often fails as a crop in cooler, damper latitudes. It does not grow wild in England, unlike the common teazle (Dipsacus sylvestris). Traditionally, the trade was largely localised, with growing being carried on close to the places where a demand existed. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the main production was in Somerset, which supplied the needs of the West of England woollen industry. Growing was also found on a smaller scale in Essex, and it is possible that there were other, less important centres.³

Teazle growing does not seem to have been introduced into Yorkshire until a comparatively late date, almost certainly in the eighteenth century itself, at some point before 1770. The reason for this was probably the fact that although Yorkshire was already important for the manufacturing of woollen cloth, it was only in the eighteenth century that attention turned increasingly to the production of teazle-dressed cloths.

The place where teazles were first grown in Yorkshire was the village of Biggin, a few miles to the west of Selby. From there, the cultivation of the crop spread to the surrounding districts. By 1770 at least, it had reached Stillingfleet on the East Riding side

^{1.} Textile Manufacturer, 15 May 1881, which says that when good the Yorkshire teazle was the best in the world; also W. S. Murphy and others, The Textile Industries A Practical Guide (London, 1911), vol. 8, p. 110, where the Yorkshire teazle is stated to have been the best.

^{2.} Up until about the 1960s, at least one West Riding teazle merchant still sold teazles by the Yorkshire pack of 13,500, a unit derived from the Yorkshire growing trade.

^{3.} See John Smith, *Memoirs of Wool* (2nd. ed., London, 1757), vol. 2, p. 217, for a brief description of the growing trade at that time. Smith makes no reference to Yorkshire. The existence of minor centres at one time or another is suggested for instance by references to local teazle growing in places in Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century, see A. T. Lucas, 'Cloth Finishing in Ireland', *Folk Life*, vol 6 (1968), pp. 25-26.

^{4.} The earliest reference to teazle growing in Yorkshire seems to be in Arthur Young's *A Six Months Tour through the North of England* published in 1770. See 2nd. ed. (London, 1770), vol. 1, p. 191.

^{5.} See the entry for Biggin in the impression of Baines's 1822-23 directory reprinted in O. Ashmore (introd.), *Baines's Yorkshire* (1969), p. 460: 'Teazles . . . were first cultivated in this county at Biggin, brought by a gentleman from the West of England'.



Plate 1. Teazle field at Steeton Hall, South Milford, c. 1907 (Photo: Mr. R. Newsome, South Milford).



Plate 2. "The Teasel Field" from George Walker's Costume of Yorkshire (1814).

of the river Ouse, where it was seen by Arthur Young. There is a published note of the crop at Camblesforth in the parish of Drax in 1799. By the same time at least, the cultivation was also established in the North Riding, above York itself.

The development of the growing area in the Vale of York, and not, for instance, in the clothing districts themselves, was the result of the preference of the plant for the heavy clay soils known to the farmer as 'strong land'. 8 In Yorkshire north of the line of the rivers Ouse and Aire, such soils occur in three main belts along with some smaller patches.9 Almost all of the known growing places in the area lie on or adjacent to these. Of the main belts, one lies to the north and west of York, whilst the second and most extensive, stretches from the valley of the river Derwent to north Humberside. However, it was on the third, and smallest of these main belts, in the western part of the wapentake of Barkston Ash between the river Aire and the rivers Ouse and Wharfe, that growing became most heavily concentrated. It was undoubtedly to this area that Marshall referred in 1808 when he said that he believed that in West Yorkshire the teazle was 'probably . . . an ordinary article of culture'. 10 In 1814, George Walker also noted the importance of this eastern part of the West Riding for teazle production, 11 and according to Baines in 1822, teazle growing was 'almost peculiar' to the Barkston Ash wapentake in the county as a whole. 12 The chief centres were the neighbouring villages of Sherburn-in-Elmet, the parish church of which appears in the background in Walker's picture of a teazle field, and South Milford. From these two places, the main Leeds market lay no more than a dozen miles away in a direct line by road. Other nearby places where growing is known to have been carried on by the 1830s included Barkston, Church Fenton, Little Fenton, Monk Fryston, Hillam, Lumby, Thorpe Willoughby, Wistow, Wistow Lordship, Burn and Biggin itself. To the west, growing appears to have reached Aberford and Micklefield. On the river Ouse, Selby and Cawood were important centres, whilst along the river Aire, growing was established at places such as Snaith and Brotherton, but chiefly at Darrington, Purston Jaglin and and Carleton near Pontefract, which lay closer to Leeds and the woollen district. By the 1830s at least, the area of cultivation extended as far as Thorne and Fishlake on the river Don, and also included Hemsworth. A reference of 1867 shows that growing was also being undertaken at Kirk Smeaton, and the crop may have been found further south, towards Rotherham. 13

Across the river Ouse from Selby, the growing area reached into parts of the East Riding where the soil was suitable. In the 1830s, growing was being carried on at Cliffe

- 6. Robert Brown, General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Edinburgh, 1799), p. 122 of the appendix.
- 7. John Tuke, General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1800), pp. 116-117. Referred to later as Tuke, 1800.
- 8. The growing of teazles on clay soils is mentioned in many places in the literature of the subject, and was confirmed by a number of informants in the former Yorkshire growing area. Tape recordings of interviews with informants are in the collections of Kirklees Libraries and Arts Division, Huddersfield.
- 9. See maps in an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Harry Tolley, The Determination and Mapping of landforms in the Vale of York.
- 10. [W.] Marshall, A Review of the Reports to the Board of Agriculture from the Northern Department of England (York, 1808), pp. 479-480.
- 11. George Walker, Costume of Yorkshire (Anglo-French ed., London, 1814), text on p. 57 to go with plate 23, 'The Teasel Field'.
- 12. Edward Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York (2 vols., Leeds, 1822-23), vol. 1, p. ix.
- 13. For the distribution of growing see especially the lists of teazle and woad dealers published in Wm. Parson and Wm. White, *Directory of the Borough of Leeds* (Leeds, 1830), p. 174, and in *General and Commercial Directory of the Borough of Leeds* (Leeds, 1834), p. 335. There are references to growers or dealers at individual places not mentioned in these lists in other directories. A letter from Mr. W. G. Grainger of Selby says that his great-grandfather grew teazles at Brotherton. It is worth noting that in 1838 there was a Teasel Inn at Burn, whilst the O.S. map shows a Teasel Hall at Low Eggborough. The reference to the Rotherham area occurs in F. A. Lees, *The Flora of West Yorkshire* (1888), p. 275.

and North Duffield, and at some unknown time the crop was also introduced onto north Humberside around the villages of Gilberdyke and Eastrington. ¹⁴ It is possible that in these farther parts of the growing area, the business was assisted by the construction of railway lines across the country from Leeds. ¹⁵

The least important part of the growing area appears to have been that which stretched northwards from Barkston Ash towards the North Riding. Tuke's account shows that growing in the North Riding was on a fairly modest scale, whilst a reference of 1840 to the sending of teazles from [Long] Marston to Sherburn suggests that the growing business in that part of the West Riding was too small to support any local dealers. ¹⁶ No directory references to growers or dealers for the whole area have been found, with the single exception of a dealer at Collingham near Wetherby, recorded in 1834. It is clear though, that growing continued in the North Riding until the late 1860s at least, presumably on a small scale as before. ¹⁷

It is difficult to say when the Yorkshire growing trade reached its maximum production. The turning point, linked to the change in the market in the West Riding woollen district, probably came around the 1850s. At its greatest known extent, the district of teazle cultivation reached from Tollerton, 9 miles to the north of York, as far south as Hemsworth, Kirk Smeaton and Thorne: and from Long Marston, Aberford, Micklefield and Purston Jaglin in the west, to Gilberdyke and Eastrington on Humberside. By 1888, however, there is definite evidence of a decline. ¹⁸ The effect of this was to bring about a shrinkage of the growing district onto its main centre in Barkston Ash. Although growing was still found around Bubwith in the late 1880s, the crop seems to have disappeared from north Humberside by the end of the century at the latest. 19 Apart from some entries in the early 1900s to a teazle merchant at Whitley Bridge, there are no references in the Yorkshire directories to teazle growers or dealers in the area south of the river Aire after 1867. Even in the main centre around Sherburn and South Milford. the crop was gradually being given up,²⁰ and in the years up to 1914, growing appears to have been restricted increasingly to a handful of old-fashioned growers. World War I seems finally to have brought the business to an end.

The report of growing at Camblesforth in 1799 shows that no more than 7 acres of teazles were being grown in the township. Camblesforth has produced no other published references to teazles being grown there, and it is probable that such an acreage was typical of many of the less important growing places, both recorded and unrecorded. Such an acreage would have involved possibly only one, and certainly no more than two or three growers or producers at the most. What is known about production overall is that in 1885, by which time the business was declining, the annual

- 14. Information from Mr. W. Bradley of South Milford and from Mr. S. D. White of Eastrington. The latter mentioned a building at Eastrington known to locals at the beginning of the century as the 'tazzle factory', where presumably teazles were stored and made up into stavs.
- 15. Eastrington and Gilberdyke both lie on the direct rail route from Leeds to Hull. Bubwith near North Duffield, where there was still a local teazle merchant in 1887, is also on a railway line from Leeds to the East Riding and Hull.
- 16. Tuke put the teazle in the class of crops not commonly grown. My thanks are due to Miss Alice W. Knight, archivist of the Yorkshire Insurance Company, for kindly sending details of an endorsement to Farming Policy F 6611, September 1840, which mentions this shipment.
- 17. Reference kindly supplied by Miss Knight to an endorsement to Farming Policy F 32344. November 1868, applying to teazles grown at Tollerton.
- 18. F. A. Lees, The Flora of West Yorkshire (1888), p. 275, which refers to the fall in the amount of growing.
- 19. Mr. White of Eastrington could not recall teazles being grown during his childhood. By the time when he was a child there, the red brick barn known as the 'tazzle factory' had already been converted into cottages.
- 20. Mr. W. Bortoft, formerly of South Milford, said that his father gave up the growing of teazles after the disastrous total loss of about 10 acres sometime in the 1880s or 1890s. Mr. Harrison of Church Fenton stated that his father had stopped growing them before 1900.

value of the Yorkshire crop, or at least of the main part of it from around Sherburn and South Milford, was put at £30,000. 21 At a price of say £4 for a pack of 13,500, this would have represented a yield of about 7,500 packs, which at 10 packs to the acre, would in turn have represented an acreage of about 750 at that time. 22

What is clear is that despite the advantage of closeness to the market, the Yorkshire growing trade was never able at any time to meet the entire needs of the West Riding textile industry. Local self-sufficiency was never achieved as it was in the West of England, which not only met its own requirements, but produced a regular surplus as well. Throughout the whole period from the eighteenth century to World War I, the West Riding market remained dependent to a greater or a lesser degree on supplies from outside Yorkshire.

It is probable that the main reason for this was climatic. Yorkshire was not only the most northerly growing district in England, but was one of the most northerly in Europe.23 The difference compared with Somerset was enough to delay the time of sowing by about a couple of weeks, and the recorded yield per acre was lower.24 The reputed superiority of the Yorkshire teazle at its best was almost certainly the result of less favourable growing conditions.25 This disadvantage was probably made worse during the nineteenth century by increasing competition from English and foreign growing districts where the climate was more favourable. This came about partly as a result of improvements in communications, and partly as a result of the reduction, and then the abolition of import duties on foreign teazles in the 1840s.26 The effect of this seems to have been felt more keenly during the second half of the century when demand, and prices, began to fall. Local factors may also have contributed. Teazles and wheat grow well on the same kind of soil. However, compared with the mainly pastoral West of England, the Vale of York was more predominantly arable. It is possible therefore that in Yorkshire, the teazle had to compete more with the prosperity of conventional farming in the period up to about 1870 in which the demand for teazles was also high.

It is significant therefore that the main development of the Yorkshire growing area had already occurred by the 1830s at the latest. There is some evidence, for instance, that by the earlier nineteenth century, the Yorkshire growers had probably taken over the major part of the West Riding market. Nevertheless, throughout the period, what Billingsley described in the 1790s as 'large quantities' of teazles continued to be sent to Yorkshire from Somerset, along with smaller quantities from Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. From the early 1850s at least, foreign teazles were also reported regularly in West Riding sources, although the quantities were probably relatively moderate to begin with.

It is possible therefore, that even before the peak of demand in the West Riding market,

21. See the notes at the end of the 1885 edition of George Walker's Costume of Yorkshire.

23. The north German growing districts were on about the same latitude.

25. Other things, such as the shape of the hooks being equal, the harder teazles are considered better in quality, and the hardness increases the farther north the teazles are grown in Europe.

26. In 1840, duty on foreign teazles was 1s. 0d. on 1,000. This amounted to 13s. 6d. on a pack of 13,500. In 1842, the duty was reduced to 3d. a 1,000, and later removed altogether. Information kindly supplied by Miss J. B. Tanfield, House of Commons Library.

27. The Yorkshire growers' pack of 13,500 formed the basis of the teazle count at Gott's Bean Ing mill in Leeds in the early 1800s, see W. B. Crump (ed.), *The Leeds Woollen Industry 1780-1820* (Leeds, 1931), p. 302. A reference of the 1830s to the consumption of teazles in the remote Saddleworth district also uses the Yorkshire count, *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory* (London and Manchester, 1834), p. 906.

28. See the lists of teazle and woad dealers already referred to in the Leeds directories of 1830 and 1834.

^{22.} Tuke gives the value of the crop as from 3 to 5 guineas a pack. According to Tuke a good crop was 10 packs to the acre.

^{24.} In 1795, John Billingsley said that in Somerset the yield was sometimes 15 or 16 packs (of 20,000) to the acre, see A. W. Ashby, 'Teazles', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* vol. 74 (1913), p. 172, later referred to as Ashby, 1913.

the Yorkshire growing business was falling behind in its ability to keep up with the expansion in demand. Once prices began to fall, the Yorkshire growers, like the English growers in general, suffered disproportionately, being left with a shrinking share of the declining market. It is worth noting that later on, when an attempt was made to import the hard, expensive Oregon teazle, which must have been similar to the Yorkshire teazle, there was no demand for it either. ²⁹ Nevertheless, although teazle growing in Yorkshire did not survive World War I, as it did in the West of England, it was in Yorkshire that the ancient localised pattern of supply and demand lasted longest. ³⁰

The organisation of the growing trade was determined to a large extent by the peculiarities of the teazle as a plant and as a crop. The fuller's teazle is a biennial requiring two years to reach maturity. It takes a lot out of the soil, and has to be rotated. The crop was noted for being labour-intensive, needing in particular, repeated weeding by hand. There was therefore a heavy investment in labour, with a long wait of 18 months or so before any return was likely to be seen. The risk of loss remained to the very end, for damp or rainy weather at the time when the teazles were ready for cutting could rot and destroy the crop. In a good year, ample supplies could depress prices to some extent, unless there had also been serious failures in other growing districts. The profitability of the crop was therefore subject not only to the immediate vagaries of the weather, but to those of the market from one year to another. It was a principle of teazle growing that the sometimes very high profits made in the good years were necessarily offset by the losses, which were sometimes total, in the inevitable poor years. These extremes helped to make the business a notoriously speculative one.

It was for this reason that in Yorkshire, as elsewhere, the trade was characterised mainly by the professional teazle grower, often known in Yorkshire as the 'tazzle man'. There was usually an arrangement between the teazle grower, who accepted a part at least of the risk of the crop, and a local farmer or landowner, whose minimum contribution was to provide the use of a suitable piece of land selected in agreement with the grower. In the West of England, this was known as 'growing to half'. There, the grower provided the seed and the expertise, whilst the farmer supplied the land at an agreed rent. The grower also paid the farmer to plough the land beforehand. The subsequent costs of cultivation, and the profits, were shared equally.³³ In Yorkshire, however, possibly because of the greater climatic risk, or because of local prejudice against the crop, the grower assumed the whole of the responsibility for the investment. This was certainly so in the period up to 1914, when the part played by the farmer was restricted to that of renting the land to the grower, drilling the seed, and scruffling or horse-hoeing the young plants on one occasion. Anything else done by the farmer, such as storing or carting the teazles, was done by separate agreement.³⁴ As far as the farmer was concerned, the arrangement was a profitable one for doing so little work for the best part of two years. One informant who rented 4 acres to the Broomhead brothers of Sherburn before World War I received £7 an acre, compared with the cost to himself of the whole 4 acres for the two years of £7.35 The payment was a handy sum for a young

^{29.} Ashby, 1913, p. 170.

^{30.} Ashby, 1913, pp. 166-167, which makes it clear that by World War I at the latest, the West of England production was regularly sold to the Yorkshire teazle merchants, and not direct to the local mills.

^{31.} George Walker in 1814 noted the opposition of some landowners to the growing of teazles by their tenants, and the same attitude was sometimes found in the West of England.

^{32.} In 1832, prices for the West of England were put at from £5 to £7 for a pack of 20,000 in normal years. A fall to about £4 a pack could occur, but on occasion, the price soared to £22 a pack, *The Penny Magazine*, 28 July 1832.

^{33.} Ashby, 1913, pp. 167-168.

^{34.} Mr. R. Thomlinson, formerly of Sherburn.

^{35.} Mr. R. Thomlinson.

farmer, coming as it did near the beginning.³⁶ Part of the attraction lay in the fact that the intensive and repeated weeding cleaned the ground for the following crop, which was often, though not invariably, winter wheat.³⁷

The teazle grower therefore had to be a person with some small capital to put at risk, as well as the time and the freedom of action to see the crop through its two years in the field, and also, at one time, to market it. In England, the teazle grower has often been a small farmer or a small-holder, or an independent figure on the fringes of agriculture - a specialist rural workman or contractor, or a dealer, shopkeeper or innkeeper. Of those Yorkshire growers whose occupations are recorded in the directories, a number were farmers, or sometimes, yeomen farmers. One at Hillam in 1838 was a shopkeeper, whilst another, at Barkston in 1867 was a butcher. The pre-1914 Sherburn grower called Tomlinson was a mole-catcher. Although it is said that the term 'teazle grower' sometimes appears as an occupational description in the Sherburn parish church registers, it is unlikely therefore that the occupation itself was ever a sole one. Even the members of the firm of James Bortoft & Sons of South Milford, the leading Yorkshire growers, dealers and merchants up to World War I, were essentially farmers, and invested in land and property. The present is unlikely therefore the town of the firm of James Bortoft was leading to the farmers, and invested in land and property.

One characteristic of the growing trade was the way in which it was said to have run in families. The Bortofts of South Milford were regarded as one such family. However, the commercial directories show that there were others during the nineteenth century, and before World War I, there were two groups of brothers known to have been acting jointly as teazle growers, the Broomhead brothers of Sherburn, and the Wrightson brothers who operated in the Church Fenton area. There is an even more marked recurrence of surnames amongst the more numerous village teazle dealers recorded in the directories. Many of these were in fact growers themselves.

According to Tuke's account of growing in the North Riding, teazles were often sown on land that had been pared and burned, as well as on land that had been ploughed out of grass or fallow. The sowing of the seed was done at the rate of 2 pecks to the acre, a little before May day. The plants were set out about 1 foot apart, and the top of the soil was turned over to keep the weeds down in June, October and around Lady day in the following spring, at a cost of 20s. 0d. an acre each time. Cutting took place towards the end of August or the beginning of September, at a cost of 6s.0d. for 1,000 bunches, presumably cutters' bunches of 50 teazles each. The teazles were then tied up into what Tuke again calls 'bunches'. These were the 'glens' of 10 teazles each from which the 'stavs' were made up. The cost of doing this was 5s. 0d. for 1,000, presumably 1,000 glens. Arthur Young gives a different figure for weeding, which he says was only done once. He also says that the plants were in the ground for three years.

Informants agreed that the sowing took place about the beginning of May. Walker's

^{36.} An entry in the Gascoigne Estate records relating to Sherburn Common Farm shows a teazle rent being paid in two equal instalments of £40. 8s. 10d. each. The first was paid on 19 April 1886, which would have been almost immediately before the sowing. The second was paid on 9 September 1886. There was clearly some trouble over this particular arrangement, for an entry of 5 March 1887 records a payment of £10. 10s. 2d. to a third party under the heading 'Umpire's charges for Award (Teazle Land)', Gascoigne Estate records, Sheepscar, Leeds, Sherburn Common Farm Account Book, GC/E3/20.

^{37.} Informants mentioned winter wheat more often than not, though barley or oats could follow, Gascoigne Estate records, GC/EG/97.

^{38.} Mr. Johnson, Sherburn, and Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1904), p. 812.

^{39.} Mr. W. Bortoft, whose father was the cousin of Gibson ('Gib') Bortoft, head of the firm in its later years. In 1917, Gibson Bortoft was listed once again as a farmer, [Kelly's West Riding Directory] (1917), p. 630.

^{40.} The Broomhead brothers were mentioned by several informants, the Wrightson brothers by Mr. Deighton of Church Fenton.

^{41.} Tuke, 1800. 'Glen' seems to be the local form of 'gleaning'. 'Stav' comes from the stave or stick on which the glens of teazles were fixed.

picture of 1814 shows a field which would appear to have been sown broadcast, but later on, the drilling of the seed in rows about 2 feet apart became usual. The West of England practice of raising the plants in a seed bed, and then planting them out, was unknown. The plants were struck and singled with a spade. There was said to have been a bit of an art in 'setting tazzles out' in this way. The farmer scruffled the plants once, leaving the grower to see to the subsequent weeding or 'spittling' with a spade. A teazle spade is shown in use in Walker's scene, where a labourer in spittling a field of first year plants. Walker's detail is not always reliable, and he shows a fairly clumsy-looking implement. However, informants described a spade of the same basic construction, made of wood shod with metal. ⁴² A surviving factory-made example of a teazle spade from Somerset has a long, narrow blade with a bend or lift in the middle, so that it could be used to undercut the weeds like a hoe. ⁴³ Spittling teazles, especially when the heavy clay soil became dried out, was hard work.

According to some informants, the plants were susceptible to frost in the winter, and where gaps were left in the rows, some growers sprinkled in woad. ⁴⁴ The second spring saw the main development of the plant, with the shooting up of its tall, branching stalk. When fully grown, the plants are said to have been high enough to hide the cutters as they worked among them, though those seen in a photograph of a teazle field at Steeton Hall, South Milford, taken around 1907, are not so tall. ⁴⁵

The cutting began when the purple-coloured blossom on the 'king' teazle at the head of the main stalk had fallen. This may have occurred during July or August, earlier than Tuke suggests. As far as the grower was concerned, the succeeding period was critical, and every effort was made to get the teazles cut as they came ready. In the pre-1914 period, and probably earlier, many of the cutters were women - the 'tatie women' who formed the bulk of the casual rural workforce of the time. However children and non-agricultural workers, such as employees of the Post Office, were taken on during their holidays. Members of the grower's own family were expected to turn out, even though they were too young and too small to manage the job properly. 46

The cutting of the kings was paid for by the day. The reason for this was that there was only one king to each plant. However, the cutting of the 'queens' or intermediate growth, which came ready next, and formed the bulk of the crop, was paid for at a rate of 4d. or 4½d. for 1,000 in the years before World War I. These teazles were sometimes known amongst the cutters themselves as 'earnins' or 'addlins', because the rates were high enough to enable a boy to earn 2s. 6d. or 3s. 0d. a day, and adults more, at a time when a farm labourer's wage for a 70-hour week was unlikely to have been more than \$1.47 The cutting was done with a short-bladed knife, which from descriptions would appear to have been the standard Sheffield-made teazle knife, also sold in the West of England. Each teazle was cut with about 9 inches of stalk so that a bunch could be held in the hand. These bunches were usually made up to 50, the last teazle being cut with a

^{42.} Mr. W. Bortoft and Mr. Johnson of Sherburn.

^{43.} In the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

^{44.} Mr. W. Bradley of South Milford, Mr. Deighton of Church Fenton and Mr. Johnson of Sherburn all referred to the practice of growing woad with teazles. It was common for the same person to deal in both commodities. However, in parts of the West of England, woad was grown by specialist growers operating like the teazle growers themselves, and there is a reference to woad production in the Selby area in Yorkshire, see Robert Brown, General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Edinburgh, 1799), p. 108.

^{45.} Kindly shown to me by Mr. R. Newsome of South Milford, who appears on it with his parents.

^{46.} One informant, a lady at South Milford, recalled being made to cut teazles as a small child for her grandfather, a grower, even though she was unable to hold and tie the bunches. She also recalled another occasion when she was not well enough to go out because of a boil on her neck, and his intense annoyance that 'those teazles could be wasted'.

^{47.} Details from Mr. W. Bradley of South Milford.

longer stalk which was used as a fastening for the rest. The bunch was left on the ground, or if this was wet, on the stalk of a plant. The last teazles to come ready were the basal 'buttons', which although worth less, were also carefully collected.

Before the end of the day, the teazles were brought in by men who went along the rows with long poles, onto which they pushed the bunches. In the West of England, these poles were often propped against trees or leaned against specially-constructed wooden frames so that the teazles could dry in the open. In Yorkshire, however, drying under cover appears to have been the rule, with the teazles being placed in the temporary wooden sheds or 'ellums' which formed the principle feature of the teazle fields.48 Walker's rendering of an ellum can be compared with one seen in the Steeton Hall photograph. The latter is less high and open, though both have the same basic construction, with a ridge supported on poles, the ends and sides being left open for ventilation. The roof traditionally was made of brushwood thatched with straw, fastened down with sticks and twine. However, later on, some were simply sheeted over with canvas. The poles of teazles were placed upright in the ellums, starting along the sides and finishing so as to leave a corridor down the middle. Drying was normally completed after a few weeks, but sometimes the teazles were left for longer periods, until the following crop was springing up in the field around. Occasionally, the teazles were stolen.

When completely dry, the teazles were removed indoors to be made up into the traditional stavs, or to be boxed. In some cases, growers rented empty barns. However, some had purpose-built storehouses of their own. The most widely recalled example of the latter was the large shed or warehouse erected at South Milford by the firm of James Bortoft & Sons for the teazles they grew, purchased, and probably also imported. Work on the teazles normally occupied the winter months, but James Bortoft & Sons had enough business in hand to employ a small staff of men and women throughout the year.

Making up began with the opening out on the floor of the dried bunches from the ellums. The projecting sepals were then cut off with scissors, a job which seems to have been done by women. The maker up was often an elderly man such as the 'old Tommy Hartley' who made up teazles for a member of the Bortoft family at South Milford around the 1880s. He first took six larger and four smaller teazles, arranging them in a fan on the leather apron covering his knees, with two of the larger teazles side by side in the middle of the fan, and alternate smaller and larger teazles on either side of them. The heads of the smaller teazles were set back about $2^{1/2}$ inches or so. The stalks were then tied with a piece of green willow, the completed bunch being called a 'glen'. The glens were then pushed onto a hazel rod about 4 feet in length, which had been split almost to one end. The first ones formed a circle and then gradually built up into a cylindrical shape or 'stav' containing 30 glens in all. Because of the coincidence of the indented heads of the smaller teazles in the overlapping glens, the Yorkshire stav had ribbed sides. This was in contrast to the West of England stav which was composed of 'scores' of teazles with the heads arranged in a double row in an arc. The Yorkshire stav, with 300 teazles, was

^{48. &#}x27;Anyone travelling to York or Hull will have noticed teazle fields with their inevitable little sheds on the vale of York about Sherburn and Milford', *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, 7 December 1889.

^{49.} Walker shows making up into stavs being done in the ellum, presumably in an effort to condense the whole subject into a single scene.

^{50.} Mr. W. Bortoft. Mr. W. Bradley also remembered an old man making up teazles. However, Mr. Harrison of Church Fenton recalled a maker up nicknamed 'Button' because of his preference for making up the smaller and more awkward butons, who also spittled teazles in the fields. Mr. Hudson of Sherburn Common Farm helped with the making up of his father's teazles as a child.

^{51.} A representation of a glen appears impressed on the front cover of the 1885 edition of Walker's Costume of Yorkshire.

smaller than the West stav which held 500. The reason for the differences in size and appearance is not known, but it may have been to distinguish the teazles from the two growing districts once they had entered the trade. There was also a difference in the way in which the teazles were counted in packs. The Yorkshire pack consisted of 45 stavs, making a total of 13,500 teazles, whilst the West pack was made up of 40 West stavs, giving a total of 20,000 teazles. Kings and buttons were made up separately in stavs by themselves.

In the period up to World War I, the boxing of teazles was also being carried on to some extent. ⁵² The practice probably originated in the French import trade during the second half of the nineteenth century. Boxing involved the cutting off of the sepals and the trimming of the stalks to the length ordered by the setter in the customer's mill. Boxing probably also involved more accurate sorting to size, that is length, as teazles were usually sold to the mill in this form in certain specific sizes. Selling teazles in 'cases' as they were known in the trade, each containing 27,000 or 28,000 teazles, economised in transport costs and gave better protection. However, the use of stavs enabled the customer to see the condition and the quality of the teazles, and allowed those mills that preferred to, to do their own sorting.

The main market for Yorkshire teazles in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries was Leeds. Under the domestic system, Leeds was the chief finishing centre serving the West Riding woollen industry, and in the early nineteenth century became important for the manufacturing of superfine broadcloths, which required a heavy consumption of teazles. Leeds was also the principal commercial centre of the trade as a whole. Each year, dealers from the Yorkshire growing district, along with others from the West of England, waited on orders from the cloth dressers at a number of inns in the town. Many of these dealers were undoubtedly growers who were selling not only their own teazles, but also teazles bought from other smaller local producers, such as the farmers who often grew an acre or two of teazles as a 'catch crop'. However, the speculative character of the business seems to have encouraged a variety of dealers and middlemen, some of whom were also handling West of England and foreign teazles brought in through the Humber.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, the structure of the supply trade seems to have undergone a change. This was probably brought about not only by the fall in demand, and prices, but by the fact that Leeds itself declined as an important consuming centre. Increasingly, the main residual market came to be found in the more scattered heavy woollen district to the south and west of Leeds. This probably made it more difficult for the small country growers and dealers to market the teazles themselves. From the 1850s and 1860s therefore, the supply trade as a whole seems to have come increasingly under the control of a small number of merchants operating from Leeds, who were acting as middlemen between growers and consumers. One of these merchants, though, was the South Milford dealer James Bortoft, who was first recorded as a merchant in Leeds in 1866, and whose firm handled much of the Yorkshire supply trade up to World War I. However, there is evidence that during the period, the Yorkshire growers were also selling to others among the Leeds merchants, and even in the South Milford-Sherburn area up to 1914, James Bortoft & Sons did not have a monopoly of the trade. In addition, occasional references up to the early 1900s show that there were still a few independent local merchants or dealers in the growing area, who were presumably still selling direct to the mills.

Although rail transport was used to a certain extent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the normal way of delivering the teazles throughout the whole period seems to have been by road. This was certainly so in the years up to 1914, when

^{52.} According to Mr. Johnson of Sherburn, his father, a grower, boxed all his teazles.

wagons were used to take teazles to the warehouses of the merchants in Leeds or to the mills of their customers in the manufacturing districts. From Sherburn or South Milford the wagons could make the round trip in the course of a single day. Road transport from door to door avoided trans-shipment and other costs, and also reduced the risk of incidental damage to the stavs from careless or inexpert handling. One informant recalled wagons setting off three at a time from South Milford to deliver teazles to mills at Portobello near Wakefield. Loading itself was a long and careful process occupying much time. The wagons set off early in the morning, the men stopping to bate the horses at Sharlston. The aim was to reach the mills before the dinner hour, so that the unloading would not be held up. There was usually a wait in any case, while the teazles were carefully examined before being accepted. The wagons returned to South Milford in the early evening. ⁵³

Carting teazles was an important and regular part of the business involving many people including the growers, the farmers on whose land the teazles had been grown, and the employees of James Bortoft & Sons. The frequency with which the various routes were travelled can be seen from the fact that, as was usual in such cases, the horses knew by themselves which pubs to stop at on the way. This was sometimes a source of embarrassment when the boss decided to come along on the trip.⁵⁴

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank the many people of the former growing districts who gave information, time and assistance. Also Mr. E. W. Aubrook, previously Director of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, who made it possible for the research to be carried out, and Mr. J. Middleton, also formerly of the Tolson Memorial Museum.

^{53.} Details from Mr. W. Bradley, South Milford.

^{54.} Mr. F. Boston, South Milford.

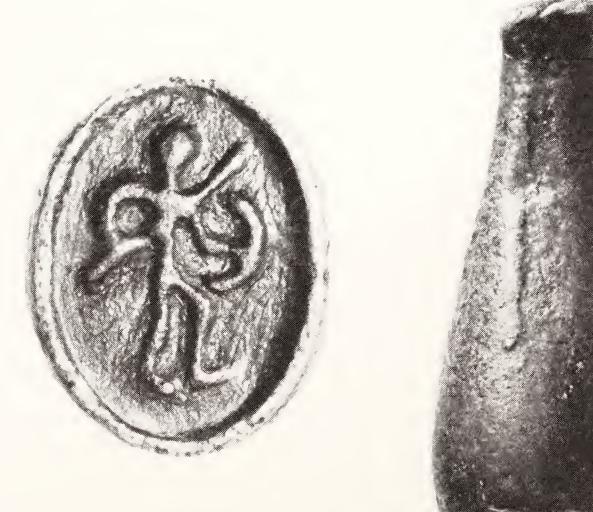


A BRONZE STAMP FOUND NEAR BROUGH ON HUMBER

By MARTIN HENIG

The bronze stamp shown in Plate 1, is said to have been found near Brough on Humber, and was kindly brought to my attention by Mr. Dan Darwish. It appears to have been cast in a mould and now bears a green patination. It is 26mm in length, ovoid at the base (14mm by 12mm) and narrows markedly, like a bottle, above (diameter at top about 3mm).

The base contains a figured device in relief, an armed man holding a spear in one hand and a shield in the other, set within a surrounding frame. Although the device is not sufficiently diagnostic to put dating beyond doubt it looks Roman and may represent the god Mars. Its purpose is uncertain but the fact that it is in relief means that it could not have been used as a seal (like an eighteenth-century fob). However it might have been employed as a stamp to impress semi-molten, viscous glass in the process of manufacturing imitation intaglios.² The device certainly has some resemblance to the simplified figures portrayed on glass intaglios made in Roman Britain during the third century, although to judge from the evidence of distribution currently available, Brough lies north of the main distribution areas of these.³





Photographs by R. L. Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

see B. Czurda-Ruth, Die Römischen Gläser vom Magdalensberg (Klagenfurt 1979), 175.

M. Henig, A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites B.A.R. 8 (second edition. Oxford, 1978), 132-3, 255-7 nos. 539-84 pls. xvii. xviii.



BOOK REVIEWS

RICHARD BEADLE (Ed.) *The York Plays*, Edward Arnold (York Medieval Texts, Second Series), London 1982, pp iv + 537, £45.00.

The York plays, like York Minster, constitute one of those massive and miraculous medieval survivals which we could so easily have lost and which we can too readily take for granted. Many English communities performed annual cycles of Biblical plays, but York's is one of only four fairly complete cycles with a surviving text. (The cycle was called at the time 'the plays of Corpus Christi', though the misleading description of 'mystery plays' has become attached to them since their revival in 1951). It is also the longest surviving cycle, with 47 extant plays out of a total of 56, comprising over 13,000 lines. And our knowledge of the text of those plays (apart from a second copy of one play only) depends entirely on a single manuscript copy, the official 'Register' or text compiled for the corporation in the 1460s or 1470s.

Considering the importance of the York cycle, the neglect of this manuscript has been astonishing. Scholars knew of its existence from 1715, but no full, critical text was published until Lucy Toulmin Smith's (York Plays, 1885). Smith's edition has been long out of print despite a reissue in 1963, and in any case so much historical, textual, linguistic and literary information has come to light over the past century that her edition has inevitably become in many respects outdated. Canon Purvis's popular modernized versions (1951, 1957) did good service in introducing modern audiences to the plays in their revival since 1951), but they have no independent scholarly value. Only very recently has there been a major advance in our knowledge of the text and supporting documents to match the huge output of critical articles on the plays. First came the two-volume edition of records connected with York drama before 1642 (Records of Early English Drama: York, ed. A. F. Johnston and M. Rogerson, 1979), then the volume under review, the first critical edition since Toulmin Smith's, and finally a facsimile text by the same editor and a collaborator (The York Play, ed. R. Beadle and P. Meredith, Leeds Texts and Monographs, 1982). Now at last we have a modern critical edition, a facsimile against which to check it, and a full edition of supporting documents.

The plays have spawned an enormous literature, as Beadle's select bibliography indicates. Almost nothing is certain about the main text except that it is written in a Northern dialect with Midland modifications: we do not know the identity of the author(s), the original date of composition, or very much about the method of performance. The existence of the plays is clear from a city account of 1377 in Register A/7 (York Memorandum Book, ed. Sellers, i. 10), and there was a developed cycle by 1415, as the Ordo Paginarum of that year shows, but the surviving text is a good deal later - it was copied, Beadle deduces, at some time between 1463 and 1477 - so that much could have been altered in the meantime. The method of performance is also less certain than is usually believed. A dozen 'stations' or sites were allocated for performance in most years, and the 1415 Ordo assumed a 4.30 a.m. start on Corpus Christi Day, with 'all other pageantes fast following ilkon after other' - but what did this mean in practice? 'Each play in the cycle was given at each station', says Beadle, following the usual interpretation since Toulmin Smith, but for this to be done in full would have meant not finishing until - according to two recent estimates 12.30 or 2.15 a.m. the next day.

Be that as it may, Beadle's will immediately supersede Toulmin Smith's as the standard edition. Since both derive from the same manuscript, and Smith was a careful scholar, differences of reading between them are few and trivial, but Beadle is able to draw on a century of scholarly research – not least his own – in rendering a more accurate text and in working out the construction of the manuscript and the numerous alterations by later hands. His edition also differs from hers in various major ways, notably in the amalgamation of her plays XVI and XVIII, the re-ordering of others, and the printing of play XXVI onwards in full rather than half lines. The standard of accuracy of both text and introduction appears to be extremely high: Beadle's copying of Sellers' misdating of 1376 for the earliest play reference of 1377 is almost the only one noticed by this reviewer.

One mild disappointment is that the introduction is a good deal shorter than Toulmin Smith's, and that it lacks some of her additions to the text, such as cast lists and stage directions, which are not part of the original text but are helpful to the non-specialist. Beadle also has no space for critical comment on the literary and dramatic qualities of the plays, for notes on anything but textual matters, or for much comment on the continuing debate about how the plays were staged. Nevertheless, such matters would have increased the bulk of an already large and expensive book. It is a splendid achievement, and readers wishing for more comment on the literary and dramatic qualities of the plays are promised a selection of 22 of the 47 extant plays, to be published by Oxford University Press, in which Beadle will have space to discuss those very aspects.

TERRY BUCHANAN, *Photographing Historical Buildings for the record*, HMSO for Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), London 1983; pp. 108, ills. 200 +. £5.95.

Can this really be the same Royal Commission on Historical Monuments which produces those weighty and extremely expensive tomes on places such as York? Those dry volumes of inventories of historic buildings, which I personally hope will long continue slowly to emerge from the womb of the RCHM, have a very limited appeal. This little book, by way of a complete contrast, has a cheery, eye-catching cover and well-reproduced photographs, is most attractively designed and, above all, at the extremely reasonable price of £5.95 deserves a vast sale.

If this is a foretaste of the marketing expertise promised by the new "Heritage Commission", we shall all have cause to give thanks and rejoice. More power to its elbow! There is, of course, an ulterior motive: the subtitle of the book gives as much away. It is a crafty, and I trust effective, ploy to encourage the general public to take photographs worthy of forming an archival record of buildings, which is much cheaper than sending out professional photographers of the calibre of Terry Buchanan.

Many of us have for long admired his superb photographic skill in recording architectural history. Here he proves himself an able teacher, and a man with a sensitive eye for significant architectural details, nurtured, no doubt, by former Royal Commission staff such as Eric Gee and the late Jim Williams. We are not, however, merely being instructed in architectural photography. No, we are to learn "architectural photographic recording"!

We are expected already to possess a good 35mm single reflex camera with several lenses, plus a separate light meter (through-the-lens metering is not subtle enough for us!) and a range of lighting equipment. After we've hauled that little lot round our building, we come home and develop our own film, making necessary adjustments to enhance our exposures. So, it's not for beginners. In return, we amateurs learn some of the professional's tricks, such as improvising lighting effects from cheap materials like polystyrene sheets and newspapers. When we have achieved our high-quality results, not having forgotten to keep systematic notes of our subject, we can even take advantage of the instruction on the storage of negatives for record puposes.

The book covers a wide range of topics, which are divided up so as to take up a spread each, an arrangement I liked. The pictures have all been included to illustrate a photographic point, and the buildings are not named in the text. This has two consequences: the reader has to keep sneaking a peep at the list of places at the back to satisfy his curiosity, and in the captions there are repetitious references to "this subject", "this view", "this derelict building". This format I found tedious. However, that is my only serious criticism. Go out and buy a copy and start recording! Or at least go out and get it, if only to pore over the superb illustrations of architectural details at a bargain price.

Jane Hatcher

T. H. E. BUCHANAN and E. A. GEE, *Bisliopthorpe Palace*, William Sessions Ltd., York, 1983; pp. 16, pl. 35. 90p. This booklet, in an attractive cover with an aerial view of the palace and the arms of the see in full colour, has a brief historical introduction by Dr. Gee, but is essentially a collection of photographs by Terry Buchanan. These show details of the exterior and of the five rooms open to the public, ranging in date from the chapel of 1250, the great hall of 1662, to the entrance hall and drawing room of 1766–9. For those able to see the palace on one of the rare occasions when it is opened to the public this publication will fully serve its purpose as an attractive souvenir of their visit. It is produced to the usual high standards of the Ebor Press.

CLAIRE CROSS (ed.), York Clergy Wills, 1520-1600; I. Minster Clergy, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 10. York. 1984; pp. xx + 179. £5.50 + 55p p. & p.

Dr Cross has transcribed 55 wills and 16 inventories, mostly of prebendaries, vicars choral and chantry priests of the Minster, but including two deans, five archdeacons and several other dignitaries. The introduction, short biographies of each testator, and glossary amplify the texts and enable the reader to understand the contrast between the prebendaries, wealthy graduates resident in some parish, such as Wakefield or Wighill, of which they were priest, but drawing a good income from the endowments of York, and the humbler, intensely conservative, vicars choral who actually carried on the daily services in the cathedral. The contents of their houses are listed in several cases: Chancellor William Melton had a 14-roomed house in York and a 10-roomed one at Acklam; he left a library of 90 theological books. Four other texts mention books, including Edward Kellett with 46, mostly on canon law. Plate, clothes, linen and furniture are left as legacies, though only nine of these clergy were married and there is little evidence of Protestant convictions in their wills. Generally, in spite of Tudor plundering of the church's endowments, these were wealthy men and their comfortable lives will no doubt be a contrast to the conditions of the contemporary parish clergy of York whose surviving wills are to be published in a future volume of this valuable series.

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A. R. Hall, H. K. Kenward, D. Williams & J. R. A. Greig (1983) Environment and Living Conditions at Two Anglo-Scandinavian Sites. *Archaeology of York*, 14/4. C.B.A., London.

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To a certain extent it seems incestuous to review some of the results of a project with which I was intimately involved in the early stages, yet that was some ten years ago and, not only have I drifted far from the fields of York but also the integrated study of biological materials from archaeological sites has advanced considerably since those tentative beginnings back in the early 70's. It has to be accepted - and it always was by its authors that the interim note in Antiquity (48, 25-33) was but a model destined to be replaced by a later, more rigorously tested interpretation of the data. Indeed, the 1974 paper now seems like an example of Ball's Law - 'the less the evidence, the stronger the hypothesis' - and Hall et al. do well to criticise it. Their essentially iconoclastic approach, however, leaves little to replace it and, somewhere in the past decade, close integration between archaeology and palaeoecology has been lost. As a result, the model has to stand almost wholly on the biological evidence and, as the authors admit, it does not. They are not entirely to blame; the fascicule system imposes divisions where none need to exist and the principal site, Lloyds Bank, 6-8 Pavement, was seen by only one of the authors, when it was excavated in 1972-3. The level of integration between the various sections - pollen, plant macrofossils and invertebrates is also insufficient to present a new model. An effective synthesis of the excellent contributions by the various specialists is lacking and each seems to move in fear of the inquisition of his colleagues' data rather than attempting to build upon it; the absence of archaeological 'guidance' is only partially compensated for by some acute ethnographic and modern comparative information. This is a report for specialists and the casual reader is likely to be left wondering whether it was all worthwhile, a problem which more effective graphics and flow diagrams might have alleviated. Only Greig's pollen diagram (Fig. 32) shows thought in its presentation for the non-specialist. Otherwise, we are treated to over reduced bar charts which should have been relegated to archive. The species lists, which is the part specialists in their several disciplines would wish to see, are relegated to microfiche, rather than small print, under the D.O.E.'s policy to restrict specialist research only to those with easy access to a fiche reader. As I began this review on a remote farm in Iceland, 300 km from the nearest fiche reader, their policy did not endear this fascicule to me.

More thought for the reader would undoubtedly have made the report more palatable to the non-specialist and there are several places where, in a volume which in many ways is far too long, more explanation would have improved the presentation. On the first page, for example, one would like some discussion as to why the sampling strategy was 'unsuitable for systematic biological investigations'. If such information is not to be vouchsafed, archaeologists have little chance of improving their approach to palaeoecological problems. The failure to correlate the preliminary report samples with the main sampling programme (p. 165) is an error which this reviewer must bear some of the blame for; it relates to an inability to communicate to the excavators the need to pay at least as much, if not more attention to the biological samples as to the artifacts. A decade ago, the palaeoecologist was regarded with mild amusement, a harmless eccentric on an archaeological site, to be fobbed off with a few poorly recorded bags of soil. It says much for the achievements of Peter Addyman and his team that this is no longer the case everywhere, although there remain places where the most incompetent excavator is assigned the environmental work to get them off the site and a bag of soil through the post remains the nightmare of most environmental specialists. Perhaps only when field archaeologists are trained as scientists will this problem be overcome and yet what this fascicule lacks is not science, for most excellent science is there in profusion, but art, the arts of synthesis and model building, the latter to provide a basis for scientific testing as further evidence accumulates.

Statistically, serious doubts can be expressed about the heavy reliance upon 'First Ten Rank Abundance' (FTRA), which tends to obscure real differences in species abundance - not all species are ever equally common - and species dispersal ability. More useful techniques might have been either cluster or principal component analyses both easily available within computer packages and, incidentaly, capable of clearer graphical display than the reports almost unintelligible bar charts and scattergrams. In this respect, the most infuriating part of the statistical treatment of the entomological data is Kenward's assumption that all readers have a complete library of his publications. Table 53 is discussed in Kenward (1976), *Ecological Entomology*, hardly a journal likely to be on every archaeologist's or historian's bookshelf. Table 54 uses coded data explained in fascicule 19/1 (Kenward, 1978) and figure 46 requires Kenward (1982) for elucidation. Again, perhaps tighter editorial control would have alleviated this problem.

The authors' nihilism leaves little in terms of the nature of the sites' occupation. Industrial use is discussed with little recourse to the archaeological evidence or to Radley's 1971 paper in *Medieval Archaeology*. The niceties of modern urban life have bred a reluctance to believe that anyone could have lived in such squalor and yet the ethnographic record, ranging from Erasmus (quoted in *J.Arch.Sci.*, 1, 303–316) to some modern Yorkshire small holdings, show complete acceptance of such conditions. A more positive, integrated approach to the evidence is required and this is indeed adopted by Jones in his study of the human coprolite from the site, a tail piece to the main report, worthy of wider circulation.

In reviewing this volume I have perhaps been somewhat harsh. The early promise of the research has not been borne-out and the volume does little to further the cause of the palaeoecological approach to archaeological problems. Yet the authors must be congratulated on the amount of evidence that they have

recovered from samples not of their own choosing. It remains to be seen how much more effective rigorous sampling strategy and close integration with purely archaeological results can be when applied to the main Coppergate site. Fascicule 14/4 contains much which is both interesting and thought provoking and the general reader is directed particularly to pages 204–211 and 217–225 but its full value can only be assessed in the light of the Coppergate data for which it has been the proving ground. The volume should be essential reading for all involved in urban archaeology but must be read as an interim to a more extensive study. I await the Coppergate results with much interest.

Birmingham University

P. C. Buckland

BARRY HARRISON and BARBARA HUTTON, Vernacular houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983, pp. vii + 254, illustrated, £25.00.

All who are interested in the development of rural society in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period will welcome the appearance of this volume, which is far more than simply a book about houses. The work takes for its raw material the 770 houses recorded by the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Research Group, and includes an analysis of the types of houses found in different parts of the area at different dates, but it then goes on to examine the implications of the pattern of building thus revealed and to suggest some of the factors underlying it. Throughout the work, documentary sources are used to complement the evidence of the houses, but to those who believe that buildings can make a significant contribution to social and economic history it is pleasing to see that the authors take the surviving houses as the starting point for enquiry.

One question which must be asked of all such studies is whether the buildings recorded are a good sample of surviving houses. In this respect, credentials appear to be impeccable, for the authors, while admitting that the Group recorded an average of only one house per parish, convincingly claim that through the use of non-intensive methods of recording and the production of 'parish profiles' all the major types have been identified, even if the proportion of each recorded depended upon many variable factors. In dealing with a sample of recorded buildings one is less able to use statistical analysis than when using more formal, documentary sources, but the authors keep this to a minimum and do not attempt to push their case too hard on the basis of percentages taken from their sample.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part - Origins - deals with documentary and archaeological evidence for medieval houses and with early standing buildings. The discussion of the nature of medieval peasant housing - represented by very few standing structures - is of great importance and of far more than local interest. The crucial questions are clearly framed and thoroughly analysed, and of particular interest is the consideration of the relationship between early peasant dwellings (either described in documents or revealed by excavation) and the post-medieval houses of the Great Rebuilding. The implications of the revised interpretation of the Wharram Percy houses are outlined and, together with a good deal of other evidence, are used to suggest that post-medieval houses had a much more substantial ancestry than hitherto suspected. Cruck building is studied through the documents, and it is interesting to note that the distribution of crucks in the fifteenth century foreshadowed that established for a later period. Particularly welcome is the emphasis given to the social context of cruck building, and it is fascinating to learn how in Ripley in 1635 cruck houses were characteristic of the poorer levels of rural society. In contrast to the continuity in the use of crucks, the longhouse, studied through early probate records, is shown to have been common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in areas which in their later Rebuilding show little trace of this combined house and byre type. The examination of early standing buildings is broad-ranging, taking in tower houses at one extreme of status and date and timber-framed houses of modest size at the other The different types of structure are wellexplained, and some of the still perplexing aspects of these houses are highlighted.

The second part of the book analyses the ancestry and development of the various plan forms adopted in the Great Rebuilding. Regional diversity is very marked, and there is a useful awareness of the different social status of some types in different areas; thus the hearth-passage house is usually of just one storey in North-East Yorkshire, but fully-storeyed in the Western Dales. The third part of the book - Construction - is conventionally arranged and deals with building materials, roofs and internal features. The final part - Rural Housing and Society - is a region by region analysis of the houses, the documentary evidence associated with them, and, especially important, the economic and social conditions which dictated the pattern of surviving buildings. This last is of greatest interest for historians seeking to explain how rural society evolved in the early

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modern period. Because of the restrictions of space, and the vast nature of the subject, the account is necessarily highly compressed, but is very useful as an illustration of how the evidence of houses can identify new questions that may be addressed to more conventional historical sources. Differences in the pattern of building thus lead to enquiries into the nature of agricultural practice and change, and into the influence of rural industry and tenurial conditions, and in the course of the discussion the background to the buildings is seen to be made up of a complex interweaving of factors acting sometimes on an intensely local scale.

In any work of this scope, there would be room for criticism. The treatment of early standing buildings, for example, is marred by the breadth of the material covered and by the failure to define clearly what distinguishes a medieval house from a post-medieval house showing many points of similarity. The discussion of timberframed houses spans the period 1450 to 1680, and this grouping by building material obscures rather than clarifies the very real developments that occurred over these centuries. Similarly, in Part Two - Post-medieval plan forms - the breakdown into types and sub-types becomes difficult to follow at times, and it is not always obvious what line of argument is being pursued. Plan development is considered as very much an abstract process, with little attention being given to the dynamics of the working house. The inter-related functions of rooms are not brought out, a weakness which is especially evident in the discussion of the double-pile house. Here, gentry houses are never fully analysed, although they are mentioned and were clearly sufficiently numerous for a separate examination which would have helped to distinguish the special forces at work at this social level. This is especially regrettable when the strengths of the rest of the book - the intermingling of the evidence of buildings and of documents, and the careful attention paid to status - are recalled. Furthermore, much of the material on room function which would have given more purpose to the discussion of plan is removed to the final part of the book, and one is conscious at times of the difficulties of combining different sorts of evidence to illustrate to best effect different parts of the text.

These criticisms detract little from the merit of the book. The authors have made a highly original and stimulating contribution to social and economic history, and have demonstrated the value of the house as a historical source. The volume also teaches many lessons in how material of this nature might be presented; the use of drawn elevations to accompany a plan is most helpful, and captions are employed to give a thumb-nail sketch of the houses (although sometimes these entries raise as many questions as they answer). The importance of the book is such that future students of housing and rural society in Yorkshire will find themselves turning inevitably to it for a general picture of development, and the many people associated with the research for and production of the volume will be well satisfied with this result.

RCHM York COLUM GILES

BERNARD JENNINGS (ed.), A History of Nidderdale, The Nidderdale History Group, Pateley Bridge and Sessions of York, 1983; pp. 526, pl. 76, figs. 30. £11.

This revised edition of a book first published in 1967 (in hard covers at £2.10) is the result of detailed research on most aspects of life in a small area some 25 miles by 10 with a population of less than 10,000 in 1901. In the Middle Ages Nidderdale was divided between the Mowbray Honour of Kirby Malzeard, the Archbishop of York's Liberty of Ripon and the Forest of Knaresborough, held by the Dukes of Lancaster. The Cistercian abbeys of Fountains and Byland possessed extensive lands with granges as centres of pastoral farming. Lead and iron were worked in the dale from as early as 1150, if not from Roman times. About a third of the book is devoted to a thorough study of industrial history, both lead mining and textile spinning. Other chapters deal with agriculture, housing, transport and communications, religion and education. The study of the religion of the inhabitants is largely concentrated on Catholicism during the 16th and 17th centuries and on Methodism, which attracted most worshippers in the 19th century. The records of the Ingilby family, at Ripley from c. 1350, and of the Yorkes, purchasers of most of the abbey lands in the dale, have provided much information.

The main additions in this edition are a chapter on vernacular architecture, four pages of new information at the front and many new illustrations. The use of art paper for the maps and photographs has ensured their clarity, though it is irritating to find them referred to by numbers in the text but not below the illustrations themselves, so that frequent recourse is needed to the list giving positions. The printing of the text in the review copy was uneven, with less sharp areas. Although the opportunity was taken to record the closing of mills and chapels since 1967 and to add more detail on the occupations of cottagers in the Forest of Knaresborough, the location of the Y.A.S. records is still given as Park Place, the Fountains Lease Book publication has been missed and only five published sources later than 1967 are mentioned. The extended index has made the old index of personal names, occasionally inconsistent with it, superfluous. A reader from outside Nidderdale might prefer to have more on the present conditions of the valley and on the buildings, but local historians will welcome this attractive work.

D. A. Spratt (Ed.), Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire, B.A.R. British Series 104, Oxford 1982, pp. 306. £13 post free.

Fifty-two years after the publication of Elgee's classic Early Man in North-East Yorkshire we have at last a new and comprehensive review of what the editor and main author describes as "one of the most interesting and informative areas for British prehistory". During the intervening years that indefatigable fieldworker Raymond Hayes has been adding to the data presented by Elgee, a life's work that would alone have justified a new publication. It is very fitting that he should share the dedication of this volume. Whilst still valuable for the facts which it records Elgee's work is now dated in the presentation and interpretation of that material. There is one respect however in which the present book is no improvement. A privately printed hardback is a much more durable and elegant method of publication than the B.A.R. house style which produces a book whose spine is breaking and cover creasing before a first reading is yet completed. This book deserves better and its value will long outlast its binding. One can only regret the harsh economies of the present time.

The first two chapters of the book are devoted to what Elgee called "the physical conditions". Dr. Hemingway describes the geological history of the area with brevity and clarity, and provides a most useful final section on the geological potential of the region to early man. The second chapter written by a quintet of scientists is fundamental to any new understanding of the prehistory of the area. It describes in some detail the new environmental evidence, primarily palaeo-botanical, the result of intensive work over the last two decades. For Elgee the physical conditions after the climatic improvement following the Ice Age remained static and he had only to consider their impact on man. Now we are presented with a changing environment and are asked to consider the impact of man on his environment. The authors name three main phases: a preforest phase in which the vegetation was largely open and heathlike but which gradually became forested as the climate improved, a deciduous forest phase, and finally a disforestation mainly brought about by human activity. "One feature unites these phases; at no time since 10,350 bp (8400 bc) ... can we be sure that man had not been capable of altering the ecology of the region". This statement, cautiously expressed though it be, is devastating in its implications to the old archaeological orthodoxies that survived well into the sixties and still do underlie much non-specialist thinking about early man.

Dr. Spratt is wholly responsible for the four following chapters that take us through the archaeological evidence from its scanty palaeolithic beginnings to the iron age, He fully integrates the environmental with the archaeological evidence and the resultant picture of early life is much more detailed and more convincing than that presented by Elgee. In spite of the gaps and the ambiguities of the evidence of the early mesolithic period Dr. Spratt is able to draw with confidence the conclusion that "from the earliest human settlement in this area an economy was established which exploited the whole resource of the terrain, both highland and lowland". This statement is as fundamental to our understanding of the history of human occupation of the area in every period as that already quoted from the contribution of the environmentalists. The kind of enlightenment that follows from the acceptance of this conclusion is well illustrated by Dr. Spratt's model for the early bronze age, which by its relation of upland cairnfields to valley settlements and successful search for territorial boundaries uniting both, provides not only the only convincing interpretation of the cairnfields since Ashbee showed that they were non-sepulchral, but also a promising hypothesis on which to base further research and analysis.

Dr. Spratt's quality as an interpreter is well illustrated by comparing his treatment of the dikes as systems related to the landscape with the earlier work by Rutter. Valuable as Rutter's field-work was, his presentation as an arid catalogue of the measurements of individual monuments shone no light on their purpose or function. There is a great deal more in these chapters which is worthy of comment or underlining but reviews must be kept short and enough has been said to convince readers that we have here a major reinterpretation of the archaeology of a classic area.

The sixth and final chapter on the Roman period, whilst Dr. Spratt here writes without the élan and enthusiasm that he has brought to earlier periods, does provide a useful summary of the evidence for civil settlement and is enhanced by Brian Hartley's contribution on the military history, with its summary of the results of his excavations on Lease Rigg and a partial reinterpretation of Cawthorn Camps.

In sum, we have here a worthy successor to Elgee's classic which will mark as great a step forward in the development of the archaeological study of the area. The only cause for regret is that this work like Elgee's stops short at the Roman period. The same approach could be applied with equal effectiveness to successive periods.

York H. G. RAMM

HEATHER SWANSON, Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York. University of York Borthwick Paper No. 63 (1983) 41pp. Paperback. £1.00.

This paper is a practical and sensible assessment of building activity between 1300 and 1534, avoiding so many of the imaginative theories of some modern historians. It uses important published books, a wealth of documentary sources, analyses the work of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments on York, and

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shows a very clear understanding of building techniques. It examines the working life of the men who built both large and small buildings, including ecclesiastical structures, those erected by the City and Gilds, and some by private individuals.

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A criterion on which the assessment is based is the admission to the Freedom of the City of York by members of the six main groups of builders, for in theory every master builder should have been a Freeman; but there are anomalies created by the fact that the important Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary and its dependent churches were outside the City boundaries, and many important craftsmen lived in that area. An analysis in an appendix shows that a quarter of the men taking up Freedom were *masons* but although there is a thorough examination of hierarchies, itinerancy, and the masons' yards at the Minster, St. Leonard's and St. Mary's, there is no direct evidence of a gild though everything suggests that there was one.

Carpenters and the allied trades of sawyers, joiners, carvers, cartwrights, and shipwrights, accounted for two thirds of the Freemen. There is a good account of sawing practice, a clear picture of domestic building by Robert Fitzgiles and others, jobs for the Vicars Choral, and an interesting examination of a man who did different work for various employers. There are difficulties in assessing rank, and the number of masters is small, but there was a gild with ordinances.

There are good examples of overlap between the work of *plasterers* and *tilers* and the importance of brick at the end of the period becomes apparent. *Glaziers* are shown as successful and accounted for three fifths of the Freemen. The account of John Chambre junior and his workshop is valuable, showing how influence could be spread. An example of a man who was forced to be Free in 1487 stresses the importance of being a Freeman which could be sign of becoming established locally, as in the case of John Thornton. There are also good examples of contracts. *Plumbers* also formed a wealthy group, although there is no evidence for a gild.

There was a general stability of wages, yet the builders were not well off. The building trade expanded between 1350 and 1450 and particularly during the latter half of that period, but after c.1460 there was a decline, perhaps because work had finished at the Minster and there was an abandonment of work in stone. The craft gilds are not very evident in these records, success stories are rare, but they show that craftsmen could find a regular living and some finished as independent contractors.

Mrs. Swanson has produced a clear and incisive paper, based on an impressive series of documentary sources, which should be of value to students of medieval life in York.

York
E. A. GEE

JOHN C. ATKINSON, Countryman on the Moors, Oxford University Press 1983; pp. 160. £2.50.

This Oxford Paperback is a selection made by J. G. O'Leary from Forty Years in a Moorland Parish (1891). Canon Atkinson (1814-1900) was vicar of Danby from 1850 until his death and is best known to Y.A.S. members as a barrow-digger and historian of Cleveland. His wide interests also included folklore, dialect studies and ornithology. These aspects are included in the book, for of its ten chapters three deal with archaeology, three with traditional beliefs and customs, and two with topography and dialect. 'Dogs in Church' is concerned with natural history, and 'Winter on the Moors' gives a graphic picture of heavy snowfalls, through which an 8-year old struggled to school, in spite of drifts 7 feet deep. Atkinson's disgust at the neglected state of Danby church when he arrived, his fascination with local tales of the supernatural, his curiosity about the past of his huge parish, resulting in the opening of tumuli, and his appreciation of the qualities of the sturdy and conservative moorland folk are vividly displayed in this selection. It will introduce a modern generation to Atkinson's engaging style and send them to the more massive original, whose title it might have been better to retain.

W. S. Banks, Walks about Wakefield, Wakefield Historical Publications 1983; pp. 292, pl. 59, figs. 57. £10 + £1.80 postage.

This handsomely presented book is a reprint of *Walks in Yorkshire: Wakefield and its Neighbourhood*, originally published in 1871, with additional contemporary photographs taken by G. & J. Hall, and a short introduction by John Goodchild. Each page of the reprint contains two pages of the original, including its corrections and index. The author, a lawyer, a member of the Y.A.S. and a keen walker, lived from 1820 to 1872 and wrote a typical antiquarian study of the period, in which topographical description, quotations from old records, poems, legends and routes for ramblers are mingled in what now seems a quaint and unselective juxtaposition but which is nonetheless engaging and still useful. The area covered extends from Castleford to Mirfield and south to Barnsley and Denby. About a third of the contents are concerned with Wakefield itself and with Sandal. Local historians who have found the original book (price 6s) helpful will be glad to have this well bound and clearly reproduced reprint with its woodcuts and photographs. It is a fitting fifteenth title in the increasingly impressive series of Wakefield Historical Publications.

M. L. BAUMBER, From Revival to Regency. A History of Keighley and Haworth, 1740-1820, Vol. 1; M. L. Baumber, Keighley, 1983; pp. x + 72, ills, 11. £3.

This short book continues the history of the area from 1660 to 1740, already published by Mr. Baumber. It deals with three topics. The career of Joseph Stell, his involvement in silk tape making and his downfall when he turned to coining to meet his debts, is the first. An account of the building of turnpikes and the construction of a length of canal is followed by a study of the cotton and worsted mills and contemporary enclosures in the Keighley area. The illustrations are clear and the references to sources full enough to follow up stories outlined by the author.

J. GOODCHILD, Golden Threads. The Barnsley Linen Industry in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Wakefield Historical Publications, 1983; pp. 26, pl. 11. £2.50.

This reprint of an article in *Textile History* discusses the linen-weaving industry in Barnsley from it origins c. 1770 to its decline in the 1930s. It includes short accounts of the principal firms and is illustrated by photographs of weavers' cottages, mills and documents. During the 1850s, when the industry was at its height, over 5000 looms were operating in the town and over 3700 adults were employed, some 44 percent of the male population in 1831.

J. GOODCHILD, Caphouse Colliery and the Denby Grange Collieries, Wakefield Historical Publications, 1983; pp. 24, pl. 10. £2.

Though coal had been worked on the Denby Grange estate of the Lister-Kaye family since the sixteenth century, the colliery with which this essay is concerned was begun in the 1770s. The booklet, illustrated by rather dark photographs of pitheads and the associated railways, is largely devoted to mining operations and the transport of coal from 1829 to 1900. In 1923 the Caphouse and Prince of Wales Pits were producing 250,000 tons of coal a year and employed 850 men. The information presented will interest industrial and transport historians.

E. A. HILARY HAIGH, Huddersfield in old picture postcards, European Library, Zaltbommel, Netherlands, 1983; pp. 80, pl. 75. £6.95.

The Kirklees Archivist supplies comments on these Huddersfield street scenes, noting frequent rebuilding and changing occupants as the town grew from 1880 to 1930. Most streets are almost traffic free but crowds appear at Sir Joseph Crosland's funeral in 1904, outside the Hippodrome Theatre and at a Labour Day rally in 1907. The importance of the Ramsden family in the development is stressed. Few pre-19th-century buildings survived, even in 1900. A plan would have been helpful for those not resident in the town.

PAULINE ROUTH and RICHARD KNOWLES, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, Wakefield Historical Publications 1983; pp. 106, pl. 59, figs. 3. £5.40 + 60p p.

The redundant church of Harewood shelters six important alabaster tombs, once brightly painted and gilded, ranging in date from c.1420 to c.1510. Each pair of effigies of a knight (or, in one case, a judge) and his lady commemorates members of the Gascoigne, Redman and Ryther families who were lords of Gawthorpe and Harewood. Mrs. Routh and Mr. Knowles have written a detailed and scholarly study of the sculpture and heraldry of these monuments, using to the full earlier descriptions and illustrations, especially those of Henry Johnston, made in 1669 when they were more complete and differently arranged. Chapters are devoted to the conservation of the tombs in 1979-81, to discoveries made during this very necessary work, to lost but recorded stained glass and to other destroyed memorials. Appendices give photographs and transcripts of the wills of three of the men commemorated and of a later descendant. A plan of the church showing the various positions of the monuments would have been preferable to the coarsely drawn details of armour and heraldry. This attractive publication with its numerous illustrations and well-researched text is timely in view of the appearance elsewhere in this volume of an account of James Ryther, lord of Harewood from 1563 to 1595.

P. E. Sheppard Routh, Laurence Sterne's Other Vicarage, the author, 1983; pp. 10, pl. 6.

This slim pamphlet contains a brief account of Sterne's life at Sutton on Forest, where he was vicar from 1738, until he moved to Coxwold in 1760. Photographs of his three churches (he was also vicar of Stillington and a prebendary of York), of his marriage bond and tombstone occupy 4 pages, leaving 3½ for documents concerning Sutton and 2½ for his marriage to Elizabeth Lumley and literary career. It is as attractively produced as Mrs. Routh's other publications.

Also received

Rosemary Horrox, *The De la Poles of Hull*, East Yorkshire Local History Society Publications 38; Beverley 1983; pp. 48. £1.75 + 30p p. & p.

Rosemary Horrox (ed.), Selected Rentals and Accounts of Medieval Hull, 1293-1528, Y.A.S. Record Series 141 for 1981, Leeds, 1983; pp. 198, figs. 1. £18.

Joan W. Kirby (ed.), The Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1425-1662. An Edition of Documents; Thoresby Society Publications 57, no. 127 for 1981, Leeds, 1983; pp. lxxviii + 318. £9 + £1 p. & p.

M. Edward Ingram, *The Maisters of Kingston upon Hull, 1560-1840. Portrait of a Merchant Family*, M. E. Ingram, Reighton Hall, Filey, 1983; pp. 132, ills. 16. £9 incl. p. & p.

Helen M. Jewell (ed.), The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield, 1348-1350, Y.A.S. Wakefield Court Rolls 2nd Series II, Leeds 1983; pp. xxx + 298.

Sue Sheridan Walker (ed.), *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield*, 1331-1350, Y.A.S. Wakefield Court Rolls 2nd Series III, Leeds, 1983; pp. xxii + 260.

G. W. Oxley (ed.), Transport by Sea, Rail and Inland Navigation, Kingston upon Hull, 1983; Record Office Subject Guide no. 2; pp. vi + 70. £1.50 + p. & p. from City Record Office, 79 Lowgate, Hull HU1 2AA.







All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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